

# Maclean's

A man in a dark suit, white shirt, and patterned tie is holding a hockey stick. He is looking directly at the camera with a slight smile. The background is a dark, textured blue.

AN EXCLUSIVE  
LOOK INSIDE THE  
GREAT ONE'S  
BUSINESS  
EMPIRE

GEORGE BAIN:  
THE TROUBLE  
WITH JOURNALISTS

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## Maclean's

CANADA'S WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE  
OCTOBER 9, 1994 VOL. 17 NO. 40

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COVER: JEFFREY M. HARRIS

## Gretzky Inc.

**50** Despite the hockey lockout, Wayne Gretzky is a busy man. Not only does he plan to take a team of NHL stars to Europe, but, as he explains in a series of exclusive interviews with Maclean's, he also takes an active interest in a vast and varied business empire—from stocks to soft drinks to consumer electronics—that pushes his earnings to an estimated \$83.5 million a year.



## Into the fire

**26** Allegations of a coverup in the shooting death of a high-level Mexican official threaten to overshadow this week's inauguration of the country's reform-minded new president, Ernesto Zedillo.

## The trouble with journalists

**66** In an excerpt from his new book, Gorka's veteran journalist and Maclean's columnist George Bain challenges the popular notion that Canada's libel laws allow Conrad Black, or any wealthy person, to easily intimidate the press.



BAIN: GUY LAWRENCE

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# LETTERS

## The greater crime?

My family and I have been through a similar and equally heartrending situation as the Latimers ("What would you do?" Cover, Nov. 20). Our mother suffered from Parkinson's disease and was institutionalized for six years, led by a tube and by her body in the fetal position. We watched her deteriorate to a point where there was no further quality of life. Fortunately, her life ended peacefully without any extensive interventions. I do, however, feel Robert and Laura Latimer's pain. Perhaps together we can build a national group of people willing to accept and deal with the problems of the many terminally and chronically ill.

Janet Thompson  
Pictou, Ont.



Tracy and Robert Latimer: the right to judge

for "bitter" in Battle Creek, Mich., but he was not the fellow who injected the certificate. Faked broadcast credits were developed by his brother, Will R. Kellogg, which is why early cereal boxes never always signed W. R. Kellogg and not J. H. Kellogg.

Karl H. Wahl,  
Waterloo, Ont.

## 'Adorable girls'

Your amazing story on the Dionne Quintuplets brought back pleasant memories for me ("A family tragedy," Cover, Nov. 21). In June, 1938, we returned to Galtland, Ont., on our honeymoon and saw the Dionne girls playing outside their nursery. They were such adorable girls. It is sad to read that they have endured such unhappy lives.

Glen Hopkins,  
Burlington, Ont.

## Hat in hand

After Fotheringham's attempt to serve in "The search for intelligent life" (Columbia, Nov. 20), with regard to The Royal Canadian Legion, it is cloudy with myth and can only be described as distorted. Legion buildings are not "bad gardens" as he so eloquently summarizes, but centers for community-related charitable projects, and they stand to the

memory of those Canadians who have died in the defense of people like himself. There is no Legion bar on headless Santa branches have put to change a policy that was, at one time, a traditional way of showing respect. That will change that, not saying at those trying to make the change.

Heidi M. Givens,  
Dawson, President,  
Royal Canadian Legion,  
Ottawa

## Ignore them

Being a product of the Canadian university system, I look forward with interest to your annual university ranking issue ("Universities 94," Special Report, Nov. 14). I find it particularly interesting that you devoted an entire page to those institutions that elected not to participate in your ranking. Terms like "Shut out" and "No-shows" strongly suggest that these halls of higher

learning are dodging public scrutiny and should be avoided. There, in addition to a survey, a chart compiled from speculation by a statistician is presented that gives a ranking based on "where they would likely have ranked that year." Very bold on your part. If these universities choose not to participate, it is their right to do so. Let them be conspicuous by their absence, not by the misused power of your pen.

James B. Agnes,  
Edmonton

## Bandwagon effect

Canada's growing for increased trade with China while treating human rights as a mere footnote is a national disgrace ("The China deal," Canada Nov. 20). We obviously can't let the Chinese out of our sight, but we don't have to condone their disregard for our national law and human rights by being their business buddies. When there is business of money to be made, Canada is quick to take all its de facto human rights concerns and throw on a three-ring nut.

John Hunter  
Red Deer, Alta.

Could someone in Canada please explain the apparent discrepancy reflected in the two quotations below? South Africa men human rights equals economic sanctions. China men human rights equals trade deals.

John Hunter,  
Red Deer, Alta.



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## Pass the flakes

Your movie review has its flakes mixed up. The John Harvey Kellogg pictured in the movie *The Road to Winifred* ("The Old New Age," Films, Nov. 20) did not make the sandwiches

## LETTERS

### Immigration appeal

For many people who believe that multiculturalism only creates ghettoes, writer Neil Bissoondath suggests that immigrants have brought their hostilities and prejudices to Canada ("Pride and prejudice"). Even on Immigration Special Report, Nov. 7, but he may cannot be erased overnight, and it is better to express it in a multicultural way than to bring about alienation by suppressing it. Most immigrants, and most so their children, accept Canada as their home. His standards is frequently to describe multiculturalism as a fashion and a risk. For an ethnic writer to do this amounts to nothing more than attempting to wear a white mask.

Mona/Steiner  
Don Mills, Ont.

Neil Bissoondath is selling the illusion that he has engaged in any significant research in his book *Seeing America: The Cult of Multiculturalism in Canada*. Has he planned deeper he might have found the Multicultural Act is concerned with the promotion of equality for all Canadians and the inter-cultural understanding necessary to create and preserve good race relations.

Joe Pinnar  
Toronto

Instead of talking about changes in Canada's immigration policy, specifically abuses of the sponsorship program, why doesn't the government go after the sponsorship of immigrants for the \$100 million in welfare costs currently paid out to immigrants each year ("Defending the warrents")?

Derrick Fry  
Kaslo, B.C.

### Photosensitive

I was really disappointed after reading one letter writer's complaint ("Censor censure," Nov. 7) about your Oct. 24 censorship cover with a scantly clad Rose O'Donnell. What is wrong with the picture? Rose isn't nude at making erotic gestures. These are the 1990s. Kids learn more about life and sex on TV and on the school playground than they do from meat parents. We OK to try to protect your readers, but they will grow up one day.

Bette Townsend  
Kingston, Ont.

Maclean's welcomes reader letters but letters may be edited for space and clarity. Please supply some address and daytime telephone number. Write letters to the editor: Maclean's magazine, 777 Bay St., Toronto, Ont. M5W 1A7. Fax: (416) 593-7230. E-mail: cm@macleansthe.com

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## Maclean's

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JANUARY 1, 1994

# OPENING NOTES

## ROCK 'N' SHLOCK

Fans of *Severely Rhin* 1992-93 would have been surprised last week when they tuned in and found, instead of the prime-time live soap opera, an unpaid rehearsal for a band of playboys. That's right: Mick and Keith and the rest of the World's Greatest Rock 'n' Roll Band turned up as America's most beloved form of sleazy. The plot was as hackneyed as usual for such trash production: rehearsing the month-long 102.50 regulars went through contracts to get tickets to a Steppen concert. For the record, Brendan Gleeson (Frankie) got his bid to use his connections to get two tickets. Steve (Joe Zornig) had his tickets stolen, forcing him to masquerade as an ice cream vendor to



Zornig, Mick Jagger (below): Spelling out rehearsal for a bunch of 30-year-olds



## DREAMS FOR RENT

I have been a gun-fall for hockey fans, but for a few Toronto debaters the night-week stoppage of NHL play has been a blessing. In late October, Maple Leaf Gardens began rolling out ice time to the public for pickup games for the first time in its history. The response has been overwhelming. "I was surrounded with phone calls," says booking and events co-ordinator Cindy Ross, who booked 150 hour-long sessions, at a cost of between



\$205 and \$600 each, in November alone. Most have been to corporate clients—business executives, bankers, even judges. Says communications consultant Nelson Tate, 43, who organized a strong group for two dozen friends and associates, "Having the chance to play on the same ice that you saw so many of your childhood heroes on was just a great opportunity." Last week, there was a waiting list of about 300 requests for ice time—with the choices hanging on negotiations between players and owners. But given its success, Gardens' management may continue the program even after the Leafs return. Call it skate-on-ice.

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## WHERE THERSMOKE

Smokers in Montreal are turning—but not in Place Ville Marie. Last June, the downtown office and shopping complex became the first Montreal mall to completely ban smoking. But now, some mall merchants are complaining that

business has dropped sharply as smokers take their puffs and pocketbooks elsewhere. "They're saying if you smoke, don't come to Place Ville Marie," said one restaurant proprietor on condition of anonymity. "I have lost 25 to 30 per cent of my business."

Roger Grand, manager of Browns shoe store, adds: "We will continue to lose business as long as there is a ban on smoking." Claire Thibault, marketing co-ordinator for mall owner Triac Properties, says the company has no plans to

change its policy. That suits the merchants who are reporting an increase in business at the Eaton Centre. Just a few smokers walk away, where smoking is still allowed. Where there is smoke, there's fire.

## SPIRITUALLY WILLING

A China opens its borders the church taking place there are the only official, on the spiritual front. Christianity has been growing in the officially atheist country its main church body the China Christian Council, numbers more than 30 million members. Now, the Council is trying to give laity-led Christian groups across the country. When Christians in the province of Henan have approached the United Church of Canada—whose ministers were expelled from China after the revolution—for advice to lead groups that have been sitting in a Toronto archdiocese for more than 60 years. When Whitehead, of the United Church's Division of World Outreach, is taking the church to China this week, where they should help in establishing with government officials. "Through our activities," says Whitehead, "we have a connection with these living Christians." And a way to help with the bamboo curtain.

## THE SPY TOUR

Canada's secretive spy agency, the Canadian Security Intelligence Service, is contemplating a tour from the shadow world of espionage into the glare of the public spotlight. According to a source close to CSIS, government centers within the agency about the unfavourable publicity surrounding disclosure of its dealings with right-wing groups will lead to a less covert infrastructure—a coast-to-coast public relations blitz by director Walter Doherty. During a tour under spy will have come as from the inside.



Blackwood's effort

Grant Blackwood, who to go beyond a soon-to-be released report from the CSIS watchdog, the Security Intelligence Review Committee (SIRC), CSIS spokesman Gordon Ellis said only that the plan for Blackwood's tour is a "specific exercise." But Liberal MP Derek Lee, chairman of the parliamentary committee that is awaiting the release of the SIRC report, says that CSIS may be looking in the public domain with a national goodwill effort. Said Lee: "They are severely handicapped by a culture where the security agencies have operated until a complete blackout of security." And as Blackwood steps out that blackout, it could see Canadian spy will have come as from the inside.

Edited by JANE CHIDLEY

## BEST-SELLERS

### FICTION

1. *The Celestine Prophecy*, James Redfield (1)
2. *Publicly Secreted Bedtime Stories*, Janet Fox (Gardner 1)
3. *A Dictionary of Strangers*, Judy Blume (1)
4. *Open Hearts*, Alex Mann (2)
5. *The Greeting Man*, Jonathan Dore (1)
6. *Land of Chance*, Robert Jordan (2)
7. *Kill All the Lawyers*, William Durrell (1)
8. *Original Sin*, P. D. James (1)
9. *A Son of the Dragon*, John Irving (1)
10. *Letters from Laura*, Joan Patterson (1)

11. *Prisoners of Love*

### NONFICTION

1. *On the Edge*, Steve Gorman (1)
2. *Creating the President of the World*, Peter John (1)
3. *The Prince of Wales*, Jonathan Dore (1)
4. *Confessions*, Paul Dore (1)
5. *The New York Times*, Peter John (1)
6. *The United Nations*, Sally Stearns (1)
7. *Black Magic*, Sally Stearns (1)
8. *The Burning House*, Jay Ingram (1)
9. *Travels and the Times*, Vol. 1, Ontario (1)
10. *McGill and the World*, David (1)
11. *Letters from Laura*, Joan Patterson (1)

Compiled by David Stearns

## PASSAGES

**GRANTED:** But, in Robert Lattimer, 61, who is appealing his Nov. 3 second-degree murder conviction in the slaying of his 15-year-old daughter, Tracy, by Saskatchewan Court of Appeal Justice Calvin Telford, in Regina, Lattimer, whose action reflected a violent defence enthusiasm, had been told in the Prince Albert, Saskatchewan court that his conviction. He went on to his 10th year in prison, with his appeal heard on Feb. 13. Lattimer is appealing both the sentence, as cruel and unusual punishment, as well as the verdict. Telford said that the father of three



children has done for the public and should be allowed to return home. Lattimer has admitted that he killed his daughter, who suffered from severe cerebral palsy and could not walk, talk or feed herself, by carbon monoxide poisoning.

**RECOVERING:** Rock star David Crosby, 33, from a beer binge, made necessary by a history of drug abuse in a Los Angeles hospital. A founding member of the Byrds in 1964, Crosby also sang with Stephen Stills, Graham Nash and Neil Young in a group that bore their names.

**BAHAI:** World champion Chinese swimmer Yang Biao, 17, finished international competition for two years, after losing position for the prohibited drug testosterone, by the world swimming federation in Lianjiang, Shenzhen. The winner of the women's 400-m freestyle at the world championships in Seoul in September, Yang took a 10-day swimmer to fail a drug test in the past year.

**WOM:** By writer Jane Upchurch, 45, the \$100,000 Muma Tagel Award for a Canadian female writer in mid-career, at a Toronto ceremony sponsored by the Writers Development Trust.

**DISC:** Modern dancer and choreographer Erick Hawkins, 35, who joined Martha Graham's pioneering dance company as its first male member in 1939, and later was married to her for six years, in New York City.

**DIY:** Stylish mystery writer Julian Barnes, 52, who wrote more than 20 books over 30 years, at his house near Canterbury, England.

# Night Club



THE WORLD'S  
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## COLUMN



## Life, liberty and lavatories

BY BARBARA AMEL

Last time I was in New York City, I saw a man standing on Fifth Avenue. The man was shouting, and from Yankee on down, Babelblades and four wheels passed by. The man, in his 60s I judge, was discreetly turned to a tree, just like the Labrador facing him down the street, only unlike the Labrador he did not let one leg and he was wearing a suit. The trouble, I am told, is that New York likes public nudity. Nature must take its course.

Conscience took its course, actually, and it seems that a large French firm that specialises in the building of prisons volunteered to help out by building public conveniences free of charge in return for the right to sell advertising space on them. This was agreeable to the city, and plans were duly exchanged. Three centers would have taken their course had the plan not come to the attention of a special-interest group representing the disabled. They threatened wheelchair access. No problem, the plans were redrafted to ensure that one toilet would be commodious enough to meet social needs.

This proved inadequate. If there were to be six toilets per unit for able-bodied people, argued the disabled advocates, there had to be six toilets for the handicapped. All else was the gross world of prejudice and discrimination. Needless to say, the French company withdrew and New Yorkers in urgent need again to urinate in public places.

One could draw a number of lessons from this sorry tale, but the one I want to make is linked to November's American elections. I have been pondering over what caused the rout of the Democrats and the establishment of a Republican Congress. I think it has quite a bit to do with the debate of the public lavatories in New York and other small morality tales like the man who wanted to rent out a flat in a house he owned. The advertisement suggested that the accommodation was "suitable for a single person." Now, what was wrong with that? Discrimination against families, said the

local authorities, and the man was hit with the full force of human-rights legislation.

But Americans aren't quite like Canadians. They have more than some dan anachronistic economy of individual liberty. Modeling government that can't tickle basic needs like the safety of citizens, but can enforce income regulations that ought to be none of its business, are not really part of the great American dream just read some of the bumper stickers. The last I saw said "Make building permits as easy to get as welfare."

A myth of sorts grew up in America after the Depression of the Thirties. According to this myth, Americans loved big government. This always puzzled me. I spent four years there and, rich or poor, a lot more Americans seemed to prefer less government to big government. What seemed to have taken place was that from presidents Franklin Roosevelt to Ronald Reagan, government was built up in order to deal with the Depression, then the Second World War and the Cold War. The public grumbled, but accepted that the national veterans required the high bills, taxes and expanding agencies of the bureaucracy. Since big government was there, Americans expected it to deliver and they paid up. They

framed the battle against the Cold War, the battle against crime and the bureaucratic effort to right the wrong of the treatment of American blacks.

What Americans really want, though, has never deviated from their great confusion. They want a government that will maintain order while they themselves go about the business of pursuing life, liberty and happiness. The political elites, intellectuals and journalists could write on about social engineering and political correctness, but such nonsense was simply a job creation program for a small band of academics and professional liberals—and a consequence of the two-use government structure necessary to deal with the external threat facing the United States. Which is not to say that Americans are cynical; they are by and large the most philanthropic, generous and ever-minded people on earth. But while their ethics includes looking after those who fall between society's cracks, it does not include, for example, subsidizing crack-addicted single mothers.

Some time in the 1960s, a trend towards less government began taking hold in America. The one major stumbling block was the difficulty of defining incumbents with their control of much campaign funding. That power has now been smashed.

What now? Once upon a time, we all lived under despots of some sort, royal or otherwise, and the abuses and flaws in that system were very evident. We reached desperation with 19th century laissez-faire liberalism. Laissez-faire liberalism was ill very nice, but it was manifestly imperfect with nasty problems and abuses of its own, and we hopefully traded it in for statism. Statism, under which Canadian now grows, has proved to be as full of abuses as its predecessor. America has now turned against statism, which was what New General's Contract With America was all about. That document, which was repeated everywhere, including in TV ads, promises to turn elected officials to live under the law like everyone else and to reduce big government to microscopic size.

With the Republicans live up to their promises? Most neoconservative governments that have been elected ever, with sweeping support have shied away from recognizing the mandate given to them to throw out and put out of our lives. This honesty could have torn up the statism of Pierre Trudeau, while even Reagan and Margaret Thatcher brought in busybody legislation. Perhaps they believed, still, that people were not really ready to abandon the notion that big government was necessary. Perhaps they sensed that the great majority of voters were not ready to do without their state lotteries and kindergarten, at least.

But the night has changed. People are sick to death of the demands of interest groups and of the government referenda who run their lives. That, I think, was the message of the American election and while it may have been a bit far for the most ardent on a tree on Fifth Avenue to believe so, as yet, that voters are whistling into the wind as well.



# THE PQ'S SLOWSTART

BY BARBRY CAME

Jacques Parizeau was in a pretty good French from a police but chief encounter last week at Toronto with Ontario's Bob Rae and the mayor of his Street business club. The Quebec premier was clearly happy to be back home on familiar turf. He even managed to crack a smile after a teasing on his way into a meeting of his Parti Québécois caucus, he was greeted as usual by questions about his young government's inaugural performance. "We've developed a habit of chewing gum and walking at the same time," he quipped, answering actors on two broad fronts when the national assembly convenes this week for the first time since the PQ took power on Sept. 26. Its rosiest program would be awarded, he said. More important, the government would finally touch its long-awaited plan to hold a referendum on independence sometime next year. "We're starting now," Parizeau noted. "We're about to get away."

Three words, particularly concerning from the leader of a government not a party that is clearly floundering. With one or two notable exceptions, the PQ government's record to date has been largely dismal, marked by a series of embarrassing misfires on the part of senior ministers. The party itself is riven by internal divisions over the wisdom of proceeding with an independence referendum when public support for sovereignty remains extremely volatile. And the Parizeau administration's effort to use moderate nationalists into a scepticism "mousetrap" of sorts to fight on the Yes side in the upcoming referendum, as well as at least, going nowhere.

Despite the gloomy signals, however, Parizeau seems determined to stage his all-out referendum next year—and for him, the answer is better. The vote, in fact, may take place as early as next June if the government's current strategy succeeds at building the lead of sovereigntists required to draw support from beyond the ranks of committed separatists. Parizeau's cabinet met for two days at week's end, getting the final word on that strategy. And while the details still become clearer in the premier's inaugural address to the newly constitutional assembly set for Tuesday Nov. 29, the broad outlines were already apparent last week. "It's not going to be a fancy, high-tech war," said PQ MNA David Payne. "This is going to be an old-fashioned battle fought by the citizenry—brick by brick, mule by mule, regime by regime."

The opening salvoes are likely to be fired almost immediately "We're going to determine the way in which the question of the referendum will be introduced into the House and for various steps that will be taken," said Parizeau on his way into a PQ caucus meeting last week. Although he declined to disclose details

party sources indicated that a key element would be a forum of some kind designed to draw as many people as possible into the debate. Native associations as well as business, labor, community and women's organizations will be invited to take part in discussions—likely in a format of a conversation that will take the province in an effort to draw a personal commitment for a sovereign Quebec. "The aim is to build support for sovereignty by initiating the debate as soon as possible" explained a member of the PQ's executive, who asked for anonymity. "At the same time, we'll try to make sure that we keep a controlling hand on our overall agenda."

Some Parizeauists have even raised the possibility of resurrecting the PQ's long-standing premise to have the national assembly adopt a solemn declaration stating the desire of Quebecers to be sovereign. That idea died in the wake of the PQ's major this victory (based on 61.7 per cent of the popular vote compared with the Liberals' 44.3 per cent) in September's election. "The fact is, more people voted against the PQ than voted for it last September," noted Liberal MP Jacques Chagnon, the education minister in Daniel Johnson's defeated government and a key strategist for the federal camp. "How can they have a vote of that nature through the national assembly when it is precisely like that most Quebecers agree with the will?"

But whatever the tactics, it is clear that the real struggle for the PQ's independence is going to take place at the constituency level. Both separatists and federalists recognize as much. And both sides are already busy mobilizing the troops for the effort. Like the PQ cabinet, the provincial Liberal caucus met for two days last week but to finalize their own referendum strategy and to continue the ongoing effort to build a campaign that has for the referendum battle, casting the major federalist forces in Quebec. "As far as the politicians are concerned, we're pretty well set," said Chagnon. "After all, it's easy to coordinate because we're basically dealing with three bodies—the Quebec Liberal party, the federal Liberal party and the federal Conservative Party. Jean Charest, I think, is been contacted. They're just waiting for us to lead them."

The Liberals have also initiated a program to draw upon the support of nonpartisan organizations. One of the principal organizations in this effort is the Council on Canadian Unity, a pro-federalist lobby funded by major corporations in Quebec. "We've organized three committees, one for businessmen, one for artists and one—called Generation 1200—for young professionals," said Robert Desbours, spokesman for the council. "So far, we've hired up around 280 prominent speakers for each of these



Parizeau in Toronto  
"This Quebec problem is like a never-ending visit to the dentist"

speakers who are ready to hit the campaign trail as soon as we get the green light."

The separatist campaign is a media operation in place co-ordinated by the Movement National des Québécois, a coalition of 25 nonpartisan organizations. Over the past few weeks representatives from Quebec trade unions, women's organizations and community and business groups have been meeting in the aftermath of a Montreal office in an attempt to keep a referendum issue. "Our goal," said Louise Lacroix, president of the movement, "is to contact as many nonpartisan groups as possible to rally the nonpartisan movement—to take it further than the memberships of nonpartisan political parties."

Aside from the troops, there is no secret about the overall strategies of each camp. Unless there is a radical change of plans, the federalist forces intend to wage a battle that concentrates on forcing Parizeau and his team to justify Quebec independence. "I'm deeply convinced that we have to put the burden of proof on the government," noted Lacroix. "If we're clever enough, we're not going to put ourselves under the gun by being placed in the position of having to define specific forms of federalism."

For the PQ, that strategy is the main weakness of the federalist approach. "It's even worse this time around than it was during the 1988 referendum," argued the PQ's Payne. "At least then Pierre Trudeau was offering a renewed federalism. Now, Quebec is going to be told that the status quo is all they can expect from the rest of the country. In my opinion, Quebecers are simply not going to accept that. They're going to vote for independence."

Perhaps that for the moment at least, public opinion polls are divided. While surveys a month ago showed support for sovereignty dropping as low as 38 per cent, a poll released last week suggested that it is on the rise once more. The Léger & Léger poll indicated that 65.7 per cent of Quebecers supported sovereignty. PQ strategists say that their own internal polls have also been showing a sharp rise in recent weeks.

Two polls more: there are other signs suggesting that Quebec's opinion remains undivided. Sixty-two weeks ago, for instance, former Liberal MP Michael Doolan, who was defeated by a wide margin in his bid for re-election last September, turned the tables by running for mayor in Rimouski and winning the election in the St. Lawrence River town. A month earlier, the PQ barely managed to clinch a 300-seat victory in the St. Jean riding in a second vote called to break the tie that occurred in the general election. Even Parizeau described that result as disappointing.

Despite such setbacks, however, Parizeau continues to portray Quebec independence as inevitable, just as he did last week in Toronto. "It can be fought, withdrawn, postponed, but at some point, it's going to be introduced into a vote for sovereignty," he told the Canadian Club. "I say, 'Why wait?' Even if his government does not win its planned referendum next year, added Parizeau, the drive for independence would continue. "This Quebec problem is like a never-ending visit to the dentist."

Others are not so certain about the separatist strategy: power. In a study published earlier in

## THE CANADIAN





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## CANADA

northern part of the province. A \$90-million  
Federal Supply and Services branch office  
divided for relocation to Moncton in 1976  
ended up in Shediac. There was no mystery to  
the sudden switch to glass: LeBlanc simply  
used his cabinet closet to who jobs for a  
town in the heart of his fiction.

But he made his mark as an unbalanced de-  
fender of the Atlantic fishery that sustained  
his region. His parents, Phil and Lucie  
LeBlanc, were midwestern farmers who lived  
near the small village of L'Assommoir-Capelin,  
south of Moncton. Of their seven children,  
only Renee, the youngest, got past Grade 8.  
But like most Miramichis, LeBlanc carried  
with him an enduring concern for a fish-  
ing-dependent livelihood. Named in the *Provinces*  
portfolio in 1974, the year the lobster fell out  
of the once-lucrative market basket, LeBlanc  
pushed aside American objections to  
Canada's unilateral declaration of its 200-mile  
fished zone. His still-popular record in that  
portfolio was one of the reasons that  
Christie chose *Beauséjour* as a parable  
book with the House of Commons in 1990 of  
terminating the Liberal leadership that year.

Once described by one critic as "a stern  
laddy bear in a rumpled grey suit," LeBlanc  
is known as a southern lover, so precise that  
his Parliament story *Grande Inauguration* still  
has Judy Carter as his wife, despite their di-  
vorce two decades ago. (His second wife,  
Theresa Fowler, was, coincidentally, his first  
wife's college roommate.) Between 1960 and  
1967, LeBlanc was a foreign correspondent  
for the CBC's French language radio in New  
York City, Washington and London. While a  
member of Radio-Canada's Ottawa bureau  
in 1967 he was hired by Liberal prime min-  
ister Lester Pearson to work as his press secre-  
tary. The following year he joined Trudeau  
in the same capacity. Once elected to the  
Commons in 1972, LeBlanc rekindled a  
relationship in a renewed but prickly party  
loyalty who delighted in teasing Quebec  
nationalists with claims that he was more at  
home eating a brownie split in Boston than  
drinking wine in Paris.

Despite his fierce partisanship, however,  
LeBlanc proved capable of clashing with his  
party colleagues over principle. In a break  
with Trudeau in 1990, LeBlanc told party  
reformers in Winnipeg that his own govern-  
ment was too comfortable "with the Catholic  
version of politics." Although Trudeau found  
room to include Yoko Ono in his political  
calendar, LeBlanc was publicly against  
Sue Hogg's resignation, a former national direc-  
tor of the federal Liberals. "There was the  
conscience of the progressive wing of the  
Trudeau Liberals.... He was rarely re-  
luctant to express his opinions."

Trudeau stresses that LeBlanc must now  
rejoice among speakers with diplomacy in his  
hair as governor general. But even for an ex-  
politician skilled in the art of deflection, that  
may not be as easy as it sounds.

E. KATE FULTON in Ottawa



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CANADA

# Leaning on friends

If you want a friend you can trust on in the wilderness, former president Harry Truman once said, you had better get a dog. He did so.



## BACKSTAGE OTTAWA

BY ANTHONY WILSON SMITH

Prime Minister Jean Chrétien, who, in the past year, has increasingly been compared to Truman, because of his combination of pragmatism and folksy charm, is not a dogowner. That through the power vested in prime ministers and exercised by him last week, he now has at least three people in Ottawa on whom he can surely rely as fiercely newly appointed senators Jean-Benoît Gauthier and John Bryden, and the new governor general, Roméo LeBlanc.

It is wrong to appeal people with partisan political backgrounds to positions in government? That depends which party you are a partisan of. Prime Minister Jean Chrétien, an elected politician who seems to think elected politicians are inherently evil, offers this reasoning. If, for instance, anyone who knows anything about politics and current events to have been involved with a party should apparently be excluded from consideration for precisely these reasons. Lucien Bouchard, who wants Quebec to secede any link with these men. Federal actors, nonetheless sometimes displays a shocking reverence for them. Last week was no exception in his praise of LeBlanc. And Chrétien appears to have targeted his own declaration in his autobiography, *Strength from the Heart*, that "decision-making is more than a matter of policy." Instead, the Prime Minister, whose ego is showing uncharacteristic swelling in recent weeks, cited his own popularity in the polls to justify these appointments. "If I want to thank all the people who have expressed confidence in this Prime Minister, then 75 per cent of the Canadian people would be disappointed," he told the House of Commons. (Not to worry that number will be lowered quickly enough if he keeps making statements like that.)

Still, in making appointments to the Senate—where the Progressive Conservatives retain a slim majority—the Liberals are right to argue that party loyalty has to place. About the worst that can be said of Trudeau, a successful former civil servant and businessman, and an even more successful federal and provincial organizer for

the Liberals in New Brunswick, is that he is typical of many of the appointments made by various governments in Canada's 150-year history. And Gauthier,

by the measure of almost anyone other than Liberal supporters, is an outstanding choice: a veteran, fully bilingual, of great debating and principle. Unless or until the Senate is changed or abolished, the government needs to make sure it has enough supporters to pass legislation through it.

LeBlanc's appointment, on the other hand, has both merits and equally obvious flaws. He is, like the Prime Minister, too big, personally well-liked and bilingual, and is a francophone from outside Quebec who has worked hard for his constituency. And while there is still a justice, principle that the senior general will be nonpartisan, LeBlanc's political career has been characterized, as much as anything, by his declared affinity to Chrétien and his caucus. LeBlanc was one of the few cabinet members to back Chrétien's leadership bid in 1984, chose not to be part of Jean

*In a rare show of ego, Jean Chrétien says he is too popular to be wrong*

Trudeau's subsequent cabinet because of his apparent disappointment at Chrétien's loss. Indeed, Chrétien, in appointing the March 1994 accord, backed Chrétien in the 1990 Liberal leadership race, and ran the Liberals' questionnaire team to the last election. Those efforts set him apart from other francophones with long Liberal politics whose credentials are equally more impressive, such as Marc Lalonde and Gérard Pelletier.

Should friendship with a Prime Minister and a long history of political involvement exclude someone from public office? Not for someone, coming into the government's office with such credentials might pay special heed to a predecessor, Lord Tweedsmuir. "Man, according to Aristotle, is a political animal, but there is an exception in the case of a governor general," he said in 1937. "If he teaches an ignoble policy, he must confer himself to what may be called governing himself." And the Prime Minister and new governor general should accept that the parties interests first that united them are the same qualities they must now shun in their relations with each other.

# A besieged premier

Nova Scotia's John Savage faces a revolt

It ought to have been a triumphant homecoming for John Savage. When the Nova Scotia premier returned from the Texas Canada sales conference in Asia, he clinched a five-year agreement to extend a money-losing Crozer corporation, Sydney Steel Corp., an Iron Metals, the Chinese steel-making giant. Yet there was little jubilation in the premier's office. Almost from the moment his plane touched down at Halifax airport on Nov. 14, the Welsh-born physician was besieged as the latest in a recent spate of government accusations—a \$225,000 contract that Municipal Affairs Minister Sandy Joly awarded without tenders to a consultant whose business partner is married to the municipal affairs deputy minister. And even before that fire was extinguished, another faced up. Despite the fact that Savage's Liberals hold a comfortable lead in public opinion polls and the premier's economy seems to be improving, members of his own party were last week again calling for the head of the man who led them to power 18 months ago.



Savage: This province has to be dragged into the 21st century.

On that May evening in 1988 when Savage strode into a celebration of his Liberal victory over the ruling Conservatives, the loud speakers blared the strains of *Dan's Song* (*Thunder Alike Tomorrow*)—the Fleetwood Mac hit that also served as the theme for Bill Clinton's presidential campaign. But if the Nova Scotia government and Clinton's White House lost any resemblance to each other these days, it is for all the wrong reasons. Savage, like Clinton, leads a government that to many people appears hapless, all track and unable to deliver on its ambitious campaign promises. Unlike the Democratic president, whose party was soundly trounced during November's midterm elections, Savage's hapless majority for now is an annual party revolt rather than the wrath of voters. "It's the reverse Mafia touch," says David Corcoran, a political scientist at Dalhousie University in Halifax. "There is a sense that he may be doing the right things, but why are so many people mad at him?"

The man at the middle of the storm cannot quite understand it, either. Savage points to

the 15,000 jobs his government has created in the past year, and dramatic budget cuts that, he maintains, will enable the government to entirely eliminate its operating deficit—amounting to \$473 million when the Liberals took power last year—by 1995. "What we have done in 18 months is nothing short of spectacular compared to the inertia of the previous government," Savage told *Maclean's*. "This government is doing things, perhaps not always in a style that people would like, but because it realizes that this province has to be dragged into the 21st century."

Most analysts, in fact, applaud the Liberal government's goals—quashing the provincial debt, eliminating political patronage, and reforming health and education. However, however, is another matter. Lately, waves of may not be feeling for the Gino who hold 43 of 55 seats in the legislature. While most Nova Scotians support health-care reform, doctors have been attacking Health Minister Ron Stewart to an aggressive anti-doctor decree, among other things, a plan to reduce doctors' fees by 4.5 per cent beginning in April. Savage recently won another batch of

powerful enemies when, during a terse 18-minute meeting, he told the mayor of Halifax, Dartmouth, Bedford and Halloway County of his plans to merge the four municipalities.

Even his attempt to eliminate patronage seems ready to have angered the party faithful, who had been bristling out of paying jobs and other political largesse throughout 10 years of Tory rule. And the recent dusty departure of his own chief of staff and the deputy minister of health—who was fired after Savage learned that her husband, who owns a health-care consulting firm, had attended a meeting of senior health department officials at the minister's home—coupled with the July controversy, have raised questions about the underlying effects of a party that once in power promising to clean up government.

In fact, some of the harshest criticism of Savage's leadership comes from his fellow Liberals. A scheduled review of his leadership was scrubbed in October, after a Liberal executive committee decided that the outcome might be dictated by 2,300 construction workers who signed up as Liberals solely to vote against the premier. The workers were upset by a law that would allow union and non-union employers to operate side by side on the same construction site. Instead, a specially appointed committee has begun reviews throughout the province

to revamp the party constitution and come up with a new leadership review mechanism. Savage himself insists that he made "lots of friends" while transforming the province to consult with rising associations throughout the summer. In truth, though, he is far from sure. "He doesn't have to worry about the union people—it's the old faithful like myself," explains William Robertson, president of the Nova Scotia Liberal Association. "It's only a matter of time before he's ousted out."

Since mid-November, both Halifax Mayor Walter Fitzgerald and the Cape Breton West Liberal Association have publicly called for a leadership review. And even his staunch supporters are worried about the outcome. In one high-ranking provincial Liberal club, Malouin's. "The premier would have a very great difficulty getting past a leadership review if it were held today." For now, at least, Savage's political future seems to hinge on whether he can win back the enemies he has made in the past 18 months.

JOHN DEGENZOT  
with SHARON BULLER in Halifax

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# Canada NOTES

## A PEDOPHILE'S RIGHTS

In a 4 to 4 ruling, the Supreme Court of Canada struck down an unconstitutional law that prohibited a convicted pedophile from entering new parks and playgrounds. "It restricts liberty far more than is necessary to accomplish its goal," wrote Justice Peter Cory in the majority decision. The court upheld the quashing of a three-month sentence given to Robert Heywood, 73, after he was charged with voyeurism in 1989 for taking photographs of young girls at Beacon Hill Park in Victoria. Heywood had been convicted in 1987 of two counts of sexual assault against young girls.

## STEPPING DOWN

Newfoundland Premier Clyde Wells announced that his justice minister, Ed Roberts, is stepping down from cabinet because of his links to two companies—Pharmaceutical Supplies Ltd. of St. John's and subsidiary Amboro Ltd. of Dartmouth, N.S.—under police investigation. Roberts, 54, is a major shareholder in both firms through a holding company.

## CUTTING TO THE BONE

The Reform party released the first in a two-part proposal to eliminate the \$4-billion federal deficit within three years. The plan calls for spending reductions of about \$10 billion by 1996-1997, including cutting \$1.7 billion from Crown corporations such as the CBC and Via Rail and saving another \$3 billion by eliminating most business subsidies. In the next phase, expected before next February's federal budget, Reformers will propose about \$10 billion in sound spending cuts.

## AN IMMIGRATION FLIP-FLOP

A plan by the Ontario branch of the immigration department to fingerprint Jamaican entertainers entering Canada was cancelled one day after it was made public. The program was meant to curb illegal activity after reports showed a significant number of Jamaican entertainers were not complying with the conditions of their visitor's visas. The plan was immediately denounced as racist by community groups.

## CHANGING OF THE GUARD

At the request of the Quebec government, Robert Levesque stepped down as chief of the Quebec provincial police force. Levesque, 52, was replaced by Serge Beaulieu, 46, a 27-year veteran of the force. Public Security Minister Serge Ménard said he wanted a younger man who would help to create a better-educated and less violent police force.



Firemen douse the flames engulfing the Via Rail 66. "I thought I was going to die."

## A traveller's nightmare

"I honestly didn't think I was going to get out," 13-year-old Jesse Upton said, after the train that he and 406 other passengers were travelling on struck a metre-long piece of rail placed on the tracks near the eastern Ontario town of Brighton. "I thought I was going to die right there." The first two coaches of the Via Rail 66 train en route from Toronto to Montreal as Nov. 26 burst into flames after the chunk of rail pierced the locomotive's fuel tank. The train's roof doors jammed, and passengers escaped by crawling through windows. Forty-five people were taken to hospitals suffering from second-degree burns, shock and fractures. All but a handful had been released by week's end.

Three days after the train wreck—which resulted in damages estimated at up to \$5 million—Ontario Provincial Police charged Ryan Defosse, 21, of Brighton, and an unidentified 15-year-old with one count each of criminal negligence causing bodily harm. Police also said that they had found no links between the Brighton accident and several other recent train mishaps in Quebec. On the same day as Train 66 burst into flames, another train leaving Montreal after about 300 km east of Quebec City was partly derailed by a switching switch that had been jammed by large concrete blocks. One week earlier, a Via engineer had been able to stop his train near Rimouski in time to avoid hitting concrete blocks that had been left on the tracks. Finally, on the day before the two

Brighton suspects were charged, a Via train near St-Jovite, a suburb of Quebec City, ran into a washing machine that had been placed at the edge of the track. No one was injured in the Quebec incidents.

## A double appeal

The Court Martial Appeal Court, meeting in Ottawa, reversed parliament after hearing a double appeal in the case of Pfc Edwin Kyle Brown, who was convicted in March at courtmartial for and sentenced to death in the death of a Soviet teenager. Prosecutors Lt.-Col. Peter Tinley argued that the five-year jail sentence given Brown was too lenient, and asked that he be given "on the range of 15 years."

Defence lawyer Pat McCann argued for a new trial, noting that it was his client who had brought the details of the killing down to the first place. Meanwhile, CBC TV News reported that Maj. Lee Jewer had confirmed an earlier allegation by another military doctor, Maj. Barry Armstrong, that military authorities had ordered soldiers to destroy pictures of Soviet soldiers by Canadian peacekeepers.

Brown: new trial or more time?

Mexico's new president vows to push for change—but already he is embroiled in a political scandal

• Zedillo promising to clean up Mexico's justice system



# INTO THE FIRE

For Ernesto Zedillo Ponce de León, it was supposed to have been a week of triumphant events heralding his accession to the Mexican presidency—first a tour by train from the border town of Mexicali to the Gulf Coast, then a private evening in Guanajuato with Prime Minister Jean Chretien and a dinner at 24 Soanes to prepare for the Dec. 9-11 summit of hemisphere leaders in Mexico and the proposed inclusion of Chile in the North American Free Trade Agreement. Next, he flew to Washington for a similar (though less frequent) session with President Bill Clinton. But even before the swirl of office had been hung around the neck of the technocrat-turned-politician, Zedillo left the slinky stage of political may.

While this presidential-elect was practicing diplomacy as the capital of North America, Mexican attention was riveted on events at home. There, Deputy Attorney General Mario Ruiz Massieu crossed swords with his announcement that he was resigning his post because of what he claimed had been high-level interference in his investiga-

tion of the September shooting death of his brother, Jose Francisco Ruiz Massieu, the secretary general of the Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI), under whose banner Zedillo won the Aug. 21 election. It was said that his abiding Mexico's political elite and provided renewed affirmation of the amendment struggle within the party between conservatives and reformers. (Zedillo straddles both camps; he is an advocate of reform who won election with credit and barely backing from the conservatives and their chief political aviator, Carlos Hank González.) It is also a controversy that has threatened Zedillo's prestige even before he enters into the presidential campaign in Mexico City. "This makes the transition of power extremely, extremely difficult," said Sergio Sarmiento, an independent Mexican political commentator.

At a news conference in the capital, Ruiz told supporters and journalists that he was resigning "as an act of dignity." He then accused three key figures in the PRI, which has governed Mexico without interruption since it was founded in 1929, of complicity in a

cover-up. "The investigation was being blocked and I could not be a part of that," he said. Ruiz added he had evidence this would be sufficient to lay charges of "various crimes" against PRI president Ignacio Páez de Páez, the party's new secretary general, Mario de los Angeles Moreno, and Attorney



Jose Francisco Ruiz Massieu after shooting; an internal investigation

General Humberto Benítez Trejo. All three later feigned ignorance.

In Ottawa, speaking to *Northern* on the eve of Ruiz's announcement, Zedillo promised to make sure that both that men's justice and another inquiry into the March 25 assassination of Luis Donaldo Coloma Morales, the PRI's original candidate for president, go ahead unimpeded.

Zedillo's immediate challenge will be to convince Mexicans that he really does want to find the people responsible for the deaths of Ruiz and Coloma, who was one of his closest friends. But beyond that, he faces a raft of other political and economic challenges.

• Reaching a permanent settlement in Chiapas and dealing with the problem of violent people pushed into the highlands by powerful rancheros and plantation owners.

• Fulfiling his campaign commitment to create one million jobs a year in a country where 40 percent of the population lives in poverty.

• Eliminating official corruption and reforming the justice system.

• Accelerating the pace of political reform begun by Salinas, and forcing the party itself to abandon the practice of buying the president and his power brokers choose the party's candidates.

In all these areas, Zedillo has promised action—and reformers to the justice and political systems will be a key part of his election platform. As he takes power, there will be intense interest in whether he intends to keep those promises—whether, in other words, he will side with the reformers' quest on making Mexico a modern democracy or pay his debts to the old guard of so-called party dinosaurs who helped him get elected. That old guard includes Páez and Benítez, each of whom is a protégé of Carlos Hank González, one of the most powerful figures in Mexican politics. As the head of a business empire that includes transportation, telecommunications and real estate, Hank is a living reminder that for 65 years the PRI has stood for one thing above all: power. Although Hank plans to retire this week, critics of the regime note that his office's security importance positions in Zedillo's regime.

Despite such political alliances, Zedillo's instincts as a progressive seem clear. In last week's interview, the 45-year-old former chief servant said that real change can only come to Chiapas by breaking "the traditional economic and political structure" while Zedillo rejected suggestions that the

Ruiz assassination was a warning in how to show the state of change, he also noted that he would not be "intimidated" from pursuing his promised course.

Indeed, according to Sarmiento, there is no doubt where Zedillo's heart is. "Personally, he's totally committed to justice." But Zedillo did not succumb to the possibility of a working-class neighborhood in Mexico, where he sold newspapers on the street, by intelligence and intuition alone. "He is also a realist and he knows he can't tear the fabric of the country," says Sarmiento.

"Wanting reform is not the same as getting reform," he Zedillo says. "He Zedillo is himself acknowledged last week, fundamental change requires the support of a broad coalition, and he knows he cannot afford to go as quickly as some would like."

The PRI in far more than just a political party is a network of people that allows the president to make action. "If the party disappears as a network, then it's going to be more difficult for him to rule," says Sarmiento. And the danger for Zedillo is that the reformers in the party may follow Mario Ruiz Massieu out the door, leaving him with a party dominated by Ruiz's conservatives. Intriguingly, one of Ruiz's supporters in Manuel Camacho Solís, a former Mexico City mayor who barely concealed his disappointment when Salinas named him over and selected Coloma as the party's presidential candidate, was also a close friend of Ruiz's.

While lured by the prospect of his perceived dynasty to the gentleman's club that has traditionally overseen the PRI, Camacho remains a popular—and potentially powerful—figure among Mexican voters.

The PRI has not survived as long as it has, held power so long as it has, by yielding under pressure. But there can be no denying the political force of last week's events following on the accumulated blame of the past year. It will be impossible for Zedillo to ignore the scandal, argues Sergio Aguayo, a leader of the human rights coalition, *Amigos de México*. After all, he says, "In Mexico, the government and the party are one and the same." As Zedillo then week from his ceremonial seat at office, that is precisely his problem.

WILSON CAMAGUÁN in Ottawa and SCOTT MONTGOMERY in Mexico City



Mario Ruiz Massieu: sudden resignation

*"The investigation was being blocked and I could not be a part of that"*

# 'We have to produce reform'

*A reluctant candidate, Ernesto Zedillo now prepares to govern Mexico*

Then, more than three months after his election, Ernesto Zedillo Ponce de León will assume his duties as Mexico's president—continuing an unbroken 65-year history of rule by members of that country's Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI). Zedillo, a former budget secretary and education minister in the cabinet of outgoing President Carlos Salinas de Gortari, was what international observers considered an out of the classical elections in Mexico's history. Zedillo began the campaign reform as manager for Luis Donaldo Colosio Márquez, Salinas's first choice as his successor, then became the PRI's candidate after Colosio's assassination in March. Violence struck again a month after the election when a gunman shot and killed first Francisco Ruiz Massieu, the party's secretary general. During a brief visit to Chicago last week to meet Press Secretary Sam Donaldson, Zedillo spoke with *Nucleo*'s Ottawa Editor Anthony Whelan-Smith and bureau correspondent Warren Cragg. *Abridged excerpts from the interview:*

**Macleod:** It appears many Mexicans do not believe the Colosio assassination has been properly investigated. Now, there are allegations of political interference in the Ruiz case. How can you reassure that Mexicans have confidence in the justice system?

**Zedillo:** I am sure that people will not be convinced until the system is reformed and it starts working properly. I am not going to ask for people's confidence beforehand. I think we have to produce the reforms and that will require a wide, consensus, multi-political consensus. That's a reform that cannot be made by the president alone, but even by the PRI alone. I am going to ask the support of other parties. But people will not be convinced until they see a better justice system.

Now, I am not going to give a judgement on the investigations that are long as the president and as long as these cases are not judicially resolved, I will continue instructing the attorney general to work on these cases.

**Macleod:** Meanwhile, many voters believe that the Ruiz and Colosio killings were a wake up from the traditional power holders in the party that Mexico should go along on reform. Zedillo: I don't make that reading of the facts. But I will not say away from any reform just because of the threat of violence. I will comply with my duty, irrespective of the risk involved.

**Macleod:** Given the recent assassinations, how concerned were you for your own safety when you decided to stand for the presidency?

**Zedillo:** It was not easy. I talked to my family. They were afraid and reluctant. But after some discussion, they decided to support me and, once I took the responsibility, I as-



Zedillo: "Sanctimonies very early in the morning. I worry."

sured a hell. When I was in the middle of the crowd, I try not to worry because life would be hell. Sometimes very early in the morning, when it is still night, I worry. **Macleod:** And your family worries?

**Zedillo:** My family, very much. Especially one of my sons.

**Macleod:** On the subject of reform, many people here said that the current reform in the southern state of Chiapas last January was a reflection of long-standing inequality. Is that your view?

**Zedillo:** The fundamental reason of that uprising is poverty and social inequality. It would not only be cause but incentive to say that what is going on in Chiapas has to do with the policies applied over the past five

years. Mexico needs to grow to generate the income that will allow the government to pursue more ambitious social policies. Chiapas had the highest illiteracy rate in Mexico—36 per cent—and the lowest provision of basic services—water, electricity, everything. But Chiapas is a very rich state in terms of natural resources. We need to have a totally new development policy for Chiapas, one that truly breaks the traditional economic and political structures in that state.

**Macleod:** In Dec. 80, contacts between the government and the Zapatistas which in Chiapas broke off. Will you restart the talks? There are also allegations that the army is preparing an offensive against the rebels.

**Zedillo:** The only possible solution in Chiapas is a peaceful, negotiated solution. As soon as I take office, I will look for whatever way I have to start a new negotiation with this group and, of course, I will see that no action is taken by the Mexican army, or at least no action is initiated by the Mexican army.

**Macleod:** From Dec. 9 to 21, leaders from North and South America are scheduled to meet in Mexico. Will the summit deal with Chile's desire to join the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA)?

**Zedillo:** I think in Mexico we can agree on the political intention to incorporate Chile. But the details on how and when concern only Mexico and Canada and the United States. It is not a continental issue.

**Macleod:** Canada and the United States, Mexico's neighbors, are also in an area where you can negotiate with Canada to put pressure on the United States?

**Zedillo:** We don't see pressure as a way to settle this situation. We wish the three-decade-old embargo to be lifted by the United States, but that is a matter that has to be negotiated by Cuba and the United States. **Macleod:** Quebec's nationalists contend that Quebec would have no difficulty joining NAFTA if the province became independent. Do you agree?

**Zedillo:** NAFTA is very precise to the conditions under which another country can be incorporated. It is not different from the case of Chile. But the Quebec's situation by itself is a strictly internal affair of Canada. □

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## Caught in the middle

Canadians become captives in a messy war

The Internet's word that in Bosnia started messily last week, and Canadian peacekeepers were among those who left it in a bind. In retaliation for NATO air strikes against Serbian positions, 55 Canadian soldiers discovered that they had been transferred from peacekeeping ops to joining chips, held captive behind Serbian lines 15 km west of the Bosnian capital of Sarajevo. They were passed to detention by more than 200 UN soldiers from France, Russia, Ukraine and Holland. Officials said the Canadians faced no imminent danger and were not being threatened, but the incident was serious—if any were needed—that the Bosnian mission is a dangerous mess. Said Nicholas Shtromer, director of Toronto's Strategic Analysis Group: "We are living with the consequences of something that has been screwed up since the beginning."

As weeks end, talks were continuing in an attempt to liberate the 55 soldiers, most from the Royal Canadian Dragoons based in Petawawa, Ont., and return them to their unit headquarters in Vukovar, 50 km northwest of Sarajevo. Meanwhile, the increasingly volatile situation renewed calls in Ottawa for an end to the Bosnian mission, the grounds that there is no peace to keep. It also put added stress on NATO as Canadian, British and French diplomats battled efforts by the United States, which has no ground forces in Bosnia, to involve the alliance on the side of the better-gunned Muslim-led Bosnian government. "The split," said Shtromer, "tension right into the heart of NATO."

Bosnian Serb soldiers took the Canadians captive on Nov. 23 following a NATO attack on Serbian missile sites. It was the second aerial strike by NATO in two days as the alliance tried vainly to stop a Serbian assault on Bihac, a Muslim-controlled city near the Croatian border that the United Nations has declared a safe zone. The British commander of UN forces in Bosnia, Lt. Gen. Sir Michael Rose, said the Serbs were releasing the peacekeepers as "ransom" against further attacks. Said Rose: "They're terrified we will leave in the middle of the night and the next thing, they will have air strikes on their heads."

According to Maj. Mike LePage, a Canadian Forces spokesman in Zagreb, most of the detained soldiers still had their weapons and were being allowed to con-

duct their daily business. "There have been no threats, no acts of aggression against them whatsoever," she told Reuters. "I suspect that, she added, "we don't let ourselves [if they tried to leave, they would] not be allowed." Officials said that 35 of the captive troops were at their regular posts outside the town of Bijeljina, at four observation posts and checkpoints along its road about six kilometers. The others were in Dops field, five of them at their regular headquarters. About 50 in all, way,

35 soldiers were detained in a military police station, their weapons in a locked armored personnel carrier.

One vivid illustration of how complex a task peacekeeping has become came Thursday when the Canadians tried to move non-essential personnel from Vukovar to safer ground at Knjegin, about 30 km east. Their column was stopped not by the Serbs but by the Bosnian army, fearful that the United Nations would pull all its forces out. There was a report that the Serbs had fired shells near the Canadian base at Vukovar, but LePage said that was incorrect.

To some parliamentarians in Ottawa, the lesson was clear: "I want to see our people come home," said B.C. Reform MP Jim Hurt. He had complained earlier that if the government did not end Canada's involvement in the Bosnian mission, soldiers would come home in body bags. But Defense Minister David Colville said he had no intention of pulling troops out, adding: "We know the risks."

The presence of Canadian soldiers trapped behind Serbian lines obviously made the Canadian government less likely to act in NATO countries, where the United States pushed for more air attacks to stop the Serbs' attack on Bihac. But Canada did not object to the use of air power as aggressively as Britain and France did. "Nothing has changed with respect to our position on air strikes," Colville said, indicating that Canada might support the use of NATO air power in the event of attacks on a UN safe haven or attacks against peacekeeping forces. By the weekend, however, the Serbs appeared to have strengthened their missile defences around the disputed zone, making air strikes far more difficult. Said one Western diplomat, "The only response NATO can make by air around Bihac would have to be preceded by a massive strategic bombing campaign."

He added: "NATO would essentially be at sea with the Serbs and UN peacekeepers would be stuck in the middle."

Peacekeeping is rarely, if ever, a simple job, but in Bosnia the risks now seem particularly high. Said Maj. Gen. Roméo Dallaire, deputy commander of Canadian

Land Forces and a veteran of UN duty in Rwanda: "You're there with only short pants and a baseball bat, and the other guy's got tanks. You probably won't be perceived as being a very credible force, no matter how many UN flags you've got hanging from your shirt tails." That, unfortunately, is the new reality for the blue helmets.

WARREN CARMICHAEL and LOUIE FLEISHER in Ottawa and DUSAN WALLACE in London

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# World NOTES

## UNDER SUSPICION

While hosting a UN conference on organized crime in Naples, Italian Prime Minister Silvio Berlusconi received formal notice from Italian magistrates that he was under investigation for corruption—an accusation that he denies. The inquiry is believed to center on bribes allegedly paid to tax inspectors by the billionaire Berlusconi's Fininvest business empire before he entered politics. A five-year anti-corruption campaign by invading magistrates brought down Italy's long-governing parties and helped sweep Berlusconi's conservative coalition into power in March elections.

## CHOOSING PLACE

Officially ending 10 years of ravages civil war, Angola's leftist government signed a UN-mediated peace accord with the fighting National Union for the Total Independence of Angola. A ceasefire came to effect two days later, but both sides reported violations. Since 1975, the war has killed an estimated 500,000 people and pushed the oil- and diamond-rich country to the brink of famine.

## ATTORNEY FOR THE PAST

The Geneva-based International Commission of Jurists recommended that Japan pay at least \$55,000 each to women used as sex slaves by the Imperial Army during the Second World War. The Japanese admitted as many as 200,000 Asian women, most from Korea, to be sex slaves.

## PROTESTING OCCUPATION

Students clashed with police in East Timor's capital of Dili, the latest in a series of violent protests against Indonesian rule of the former Portuguese colony. At the same time, 20 East Timorese protesters ended a 15-day strike at the U.S. Embassy and left for exile in Portugal. Indonesian authorities said they would prosecute 30 other East Timorese for their alleged involvement in riots and pro-independence protests that coincided with an international economic summit in São Paulo.

## A WAR ON DRUGS

Backed by helicopters and armored vehicles, more than 1,000 Brazilian troops rushed for shorements on Rio de Janeiro in a crackdown on the city's burgeoning drug gangs. The troops arrested several suspects in the pre-dawn raid. It was the biggest such operation since President Buarque Figueira's Oct. 31 order to the military to head a crackdown on organized crime and police corruption in Rio.



**DEATH ROW:** Said Badameh holds a bomb through the bars of his jail cell shortly before an Israeli military court sentenced him to death for plotting an April bus bombing in which six people, including the bomber, were killed. Threat the death penalty is overruled by a higher court or a high-ranking army commander, Badameh, 24, a member of the militant Abu Nuhayya group, would be the first person other than Nazi war criminal Adolf Eichmann, hanged in 1962, to be executed by Israel.

## Operation Sapphire

The crew of SS *Arcturion* worked 22 to 14 hours a day for six weeks loading the material into 1,600 quart-sized stainless steel canisters. The cargo was then flown in C-5 military transports to an air force base in Dover, Del., and later trucked to a nuclear complex in Oak Ridge, Tenn. Last week, U.S. officials disclosed details of "Operation Sapphire," the secret transfer of more than 1,200 pounds of weapons-grade uranium from Kazakhstan to the United States, which was completed on Nov. 20. President Bill Clinton said the success of the operation "proves that one more barrel of nuclear terrorism and proliferation has been removed from the world."

A Pentagon news briefing, defense department officials said President Nursultan Nazarbayev of Kazakhstan, one of four former Soviet republics with nuclear weapons, turned early this year at the insistence of the large stock of highly enriched uranium at a metallurgical plant in Ust-Kamenogorsk. Although Kazakhstan was guarding the material, which had been intended for use in military reactors, the effort was a drain on its scarce resources—and the uranium posed a temptation for any terrorist group or rogue state in the market for nuclear arms components. Kazakhstan Deputy Prime Minister Vitaly Mutsalov said his country sold the nuclear material at the "some tens of millions of dollars" and the promise of aid from the United States, which will reimburse it for waste to commercial nuclear exporters. Said Defense Secretary William Perry: "We have just paid in safe hands enough nuclear material from the former Soviet arsenal to make more than 30 nuclear devices. In fact, some of this material was in the form that could be used directly to make nuclear weapons."



# HIGH-VOLTAGE HOPES

Forty years ago, using ingenuity and parts from a *Batman* anti-aircraft gun left over from the Second World War, Bertie Brockhouse overcame the construction of a reactor triple was specific to Atomic Energy of Canada Ltd. (AECL), nuclear research site. His Atomic Energy (AECL) carefully as packed and reassembled the historic machine for a celebration last week to honor Brockhouse, co-inventor of this year's Nobel Prize for physics. During the past 40 years, while AECL developed and sold nuclear power reactors, Brockhouse investigated more abstract theories about the behavior of atoms. But the 70-year-old retired physicist does not share his former employer's commercial enthusiasm for the nuclear technology that he helped to develop. "It was given the power in more a wind and make nuclear energy into nuclear weapons not exact. I'd

**Atomic Energy of Canada is banking on a global surge in nuclear demand**

have to think very hard about it, but I ought not to be wrong." Brockhouse told *Nuclear* last week. "It is not as altogether happy as it is to humanity."

Despite Brockhouse's reservations, his prognosis seemed for nuclear research was the key to the role for AECL in 1994. After 40 years of performance that has never quite

lived up to early expectations, the Crown corporation has finally begun enjoying something of a renaissance. Following the sale of the last of four nuclear reactors in South Korea in 1992, AECL managers are confident that they have a firm sale in the door for new sales to the rapidly developing, energy-hungry Asian market. AECL played a starring role in Prince Minister Jean Chrétien's visit to China in mid-November, and it now appears to be close to signing a contract that could be worth as much as \$5 billion to sell two CANDU reactors in China. In 1992, progress was so promising that AECL's new president, Reid Morden, told a gathering of AECL suppliers last week that he sees signs of a "nuclear renaissance."

That optimism, however, is strongly matched by a vocal American lobby that advocates dismantling AECL and the government's funding of the Crown corporation. Op-

ponents of Canada's nuclear power program have made great strides with early agreements that other forms of electrical generation are cheaper, safer and more flexible, by pointing to Ontario Hydro's costly problems with some of its 22 CANDU nuclear reactors. At the same time, the federal government, which is under growing pressure to cut its deficit, is being forced to consider reducing its annual subsidy to AECL. Last year, despite the government's \$370-million contribution—primarily for research—AECL lost \$120 million largely because of one-time reactor start and shutdown costs. But if the Chernobyl nuclear accident and a lengthy global recession cost a full power reactor about \$1 billion in the 1980s, Morden dares that to date the 1990s are showing exactly opposite trends. He notes that there are 50 new reactors under construction around the world and he cited energy demand forecasts for several countries that suggest the need for the construction of dozens of new nuclear plants in the developing world over the next few years.

"Nuclear power," said Morden, "can help to provide solutions to some difficult global problems such as environmental degradation and the need for reliable energy supplies to fuel the world economy." That was the founding reason for AECL, created in 1963 from the remnants of Canada's commitment in the U.S. and through military's Manhattan Project, which produced the atom bomb during the Second World War. AECL de-

veloped the heavy-water CANDU power reactor as a new research laboratory built to hide the project from enemy detection during the war at Chalk River, a town 200 km northwest of Ottawa. It also experimented with a variety of other medical and industrial uses for nuclear technology. Since then, AECL has sold 20 reactors, including 20 to Ontario—where nuclear reactors now provide two-thirds of all the electricity used in the province—one each in Quebec and New Brunswick, and the remaining 13 in Romania, South Korea, India, Pakistan and Argentina. Next spring the newest CANDU reactor is slated to begin operating in Romania. Korea's last three will start up later in the decade.

Despite AECL's status as a Crown corporation and its reliance on federal research funding, the domestic financial benefits of selling a reactor are difficult to imagine. AECL designs and oversees construction of CANDU reactors, but it does not manufacture any of the components. These are supplied by private-sector suppliers. Many of these suppliers are Canadian because of the unique design of the reactor, which unlike other models can be refueled while in operation.

The basic model is the CANDU, which produces about 600 megawatts of electricity. While its unit costs about \$1.6 billion, Don Lawson, president of AECL's CANDU division, says the company collects only one-third of that price. Suppliers get whatever contracts they can win from the buyer. The buyer can then have contracts awarded, and most government buyers seek to award as many contracts as possible to suppliers of goods and services within their own country. Morden notes that the sale of the last three reactors in Korea, which cost Korea more than \$3 billion to build, produced about \$1 billion in revenue for Canada. Lawson says that as Korea's experience with the CANDU technology grows, it is beginning to compete for and win

sales to Canada's gross domestic product is controversial. A study released last year by the accounting firm Ernst & Young last year stated that the federal government has spent \$4.7 billion on AECL, since the company was formed 42 years ago. That study also estimated that from 1962 to 1992 the nuclear industry contributed \$2.5 billion to the Canadian economy based on expenditures at the value of electricity generated by nuclear sources and the value of the Canadian output of exported CANDU reactors. An estimated 30,000 people work in the Canadian nuclear industry—4,300 of them at AECL itself.

But critics of the government's previous assessment of AECL's financial success. Norm Rubin, nuclear spokesman for Energy Probe in Toronto, says that the federal government's own study in 1986 pegged Ontario's contribution to AECL at closer to \$7 billion. And he says that he is surprised by the estimate itself benefits of AECL's claims to generate "because the government gets \$7 billion up

anything," said Rubin, "you'd expect loss of profits." He also blames AECL for overestimating Ontario Hydro's massive investment in nuclear reactors, which he says has been far more accurately steady way to generate power. Ontario Hydro is now \$25 billion in debt at a time when the demand for electricity is falling. As well, new types of coal power-generation projects at individual sites are providing significant amounts of power at considerably lower prices than the electricity produced by the megaprojects.

Furthermore, Rubin says that if the cost of increasingly cleaning up and decommissioning the country's nuclear plants when they go out of service and of safely disposing of their hazardous waste was properly accounted for, the costs of nuclear power would be outrageous. Earlier this year, Canada's nuclear industry, Canada's Atomic Energy of Canada Ltd. (AECL), formally converted the Crown corporation for reducing its decommissioning costs to its financial statements.

Rubin says that it is the bottomless pockets of government that keep nuclear power artificially alive. Without the government to backing off the costs and the potential for almost infinite liabilities, he says that no private company could risk entering the field. "This is a technology that only a government can live with," Rubin says. "Look at the research alone. Name one other high-tech company in the private sector that can't afford to do its own research?" But Morden insists that AECL is not different from its competitors in relying on government financial support. "In an ideal world, this industry would be self-sustaining," said Morden. "But there isn't anyone in the



**Brockhouse: CANDU reactor for South Korea (opposite): taking aim at the huge Asian market**

more contracts to other countries involving CANDU reactors. In a recent, Canadian suppliers face increasing competition from nuclear equipment and service suppliers.

There are six nuclear reactor vendors in the world, of which AECL, with 15 reactors sold outside the country, is in third spot. The largest vendors are B&W, Westinghouse Electric Corp., which has sold 15 reactors to other countries, followed by General Electric Co., which has sold 20. Framatome of France is in fourth spot with eight reactors sold to other countries, followed by Siemens AG of Germany, which has sold seven, and ASEA Brown Boveri Ltd. of Sweden with two.

The growing debate over AECL's contribu-



Nuclear preserving federal funding for research

world in that business that doesn't get help from their national governments."

AGC will have a hard time even raising money in the future because of several new projects that are currently in the works. It is developing the next generation of CANDU reactors, which will be capable of producing 900 megawatts or more of power—one and a half times the output of the current model.

The bigger issue is in the demand, especially in South Korea and other countries in Asia because of their rapidly growing power demands and the limited land area upon which to build generating plants.

Another expense looming on the horizon is related to the disposal of the spent fuel bundles from reactors. There are now about 20,000 tons of highly radioactive nuclear waste stockpiled at reactors in Ontario, Quebec and New Brunswick. AGC estimates that the cost of building and operating a disposal facility could amount to as much as \$13 billion in total. Although the costs will largely be borne by the provincial power utilities whose reactors are producing waste, AGC will also bear some of the cost.

In addition, Chalk River research reactor is nearing the end of its life and will soon have to be replaced. Morton says that AECL's research staff be continued because, without adequate ongoing research to ensure that the technology keeps improving, potential buyers will not be interested in CANDU reactors. A new research reactor is likely to cost about \$400 million, he says, but some of that cost may be shared with universities and other organizations that make use of the facility.

For his part, Robert Nauri, the former Ontario Liberal cabinet minister who was appointed as AGC's part-time chairman earlier this year, says that regardless of what

the federal government does with the level of AGC's funding, it must continue to fund outside research of some type. Said Nauri: "The problem in Canada is that we do too little research, not too much." Don Anderson, general manager of Ontario Hydro's nuclear division, says that given Ontario Hydro's current overcapacity he does not expect that another nuclear reactor will be

## 'This is a technology that only a government can love'

built in Ontario for several decades. Moreover, too, contends that most future sales will come from offshore markets.

Ultimately, that means that the federal government will have to decide if the rewards of selling reactors strictly for export to other countries are great enough to justify AGC's research subsidies. Nauri and Morton say that they are pursuing their expenditure to improve the efficiency of the corporation. And Morton says that "it is not impossible" that the corporation might eventually be privatized. Said Morton: "It may be that there are elements that could be placed through competition."

In the private sector, Brookhouse says that he might use some of the \$500,000 prize money that accompanied his Nobel award for energy conservation (reducing energy consumption, he says, provides a double benefit: "Other things being equal," says Brookhouse, "the amount of pollution that you produce is roughly proportional to the amount of energy that you use.") That may not sound so exciting as the promise of spitting atoms to create energy, but, in the long run, it will undoubtedly be cheaper.

FOREMAN DALLAGISHI

## Hot property

In the 32 years that nuclear reactors have been operating in Canada, they have produced enough waste fuel to fill an Olympic-size swimming pool. That intensely radioactive material is currently being stored in temporary facilities beside each of the 32 reactors that produced it, but Atomic Energy of Canada Ltd. (AECL) has now put forward a formal plan for a method of permanently disposing of the controversial waste. A month ago, AGC filed a proposal with the federal environment ministry that called for the waste to be deposited in vaults constructed deep below the ground in the granite rock of the Canadian Shield. Next year, the government is expected to begin a series of public hearings on the idea.

According to Mary Greber, manager of communications for AGC's waste disposal research centre in Whiteshell, Man., "The proposal is based on the multiple barrier concept." The waste will be sealed in metal containers that will be buried in holes dug in rooms within so-called vaults buried in granite rock 500 to 1,000 ft below ground level. Within all the holes in any one room are filled with waste containers, the room itself will be filled with clay or cement and sealed. Eventually, when all the rooms are filled, the vault will be filled and sealed once again, and all the shafts down to it will be closed. Said Greber: "The idea is to create a number of barriers, so that if one fails, another will be there to prevent the radioactive material from moving to the surface."

If the federal government approves AGC's proposal, the next step will be to look for a site that is geologically suitable. And that is where the Meadow Lake Tribal Council, which is made up of nine First Nation bands in northwestern Saskatchewan, comes into the picture. To date, the tribal council is the only community group that has expressed even a modicum of interest in locating the waste disposal site on its land. Vice-chief Orville Gladue, who has travelled to Sweden to look at a waste storage site there, says the council is studying the pros and cons of allowing a disposal facility to be built on its land as part of a 20-year economic development plan it wants to put. Gladue says that he has not decided whether he would support it. "I'm still struggling with it, myself," said Gladue. "It's very traditional about our linkages with the land." Furthermore, Gladue says that the tribal council does not yet know what kind of benefits might come from operating a waste disposal site, or even whether the geology of the area is suitable. But with AGC planning to spend an estimated \$13 billion to build and operate a waste disposal site, it could prove to be a tempting addition to the band's current business activities, namely forestry and mining leases.

B.D.



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BUSINESS

# Sharpening the axe

The auditor general urges Ottawa to cut spending

In theory, it is precisely the kind of bi-  
responsible federal government operation  
that should make Auditor General Denis  
Desautels open eyes with suspicion. In  
the past decade, the budget has increased  
steadily, from \$29.7 billion in the 1984-1985  
fiscal year to \$68.6 billion last year. Despite  
that, the department actually spent more with  
less staff; employment decreased slightly  
from 613 "senior years" in  
the department's day  
term, to 585 last year. Its  
mission is widening  
and sometimes ambigu-  
ous, its operations are not  
monitored by any other  
branch of government,  
and, without any official  
change in its status, it has  
gradually assumed new  
and sometimes bordering  
responsibilities. It ap-  
pears, in short, to lack  
the real description of  
former auditor general  
Maxwell Henderson,  
who, when he left the po-  
sition in 1973, declared:  
"The history of my 33  
years in office has been  
the history of the buck  
that went up."

But in this case, the  
department is question-  
ing the auditor general's office itself, which  
last week released—in contrast to the single  
edition of most previous years—a volume-  
ous collection of 17 volumes. As was the  
case in other years, Desautels's report  
contains a litany of examples of federal gov-  
ernment over-spending and inefficiency,  
ranging from the manner in which historic  
archives are stored to wasteful use of govern-  
ment-owned real estate and faulty in collect-  
ing more than \$8 billion in overdue taxes.  
Not surprisingly, the report was seized on by  
opposition politicians calling for immediate  
implementation of the auditor general's re-  
commendations. "If the government is serious  
about saving money, they need only start  
with the report," said Reform party MP John  
Wheeler. On this occasion, the governing  
Liberals agreed. "This report is very much  
in tune with our priorities," said Peter Don-  
ato, Prime Minister Jean Chrétien's commu-  
nications director.

That is at least partly because the report  
gives the Liberals a useful new tool with  
which to convince Canadians of the need to  
sharply reduce government spending in next  
February's budget. Already, Liberal write-

ups suggest that Finance Minister Paul  
Martin will cut as much as 60 per cent from  
the budget of regional economic develop-  
ment programs, grants for research in sci-  
ence and technology, and grants to busi-  
nesses. That would appear to contradict election  
promises made in the party's Red Book last  
year to provide businesses with "financing  
new technology" and otherwise unspecified



Desautels: a useful tool for budget slashing

"insurance support," but Desautels's report  
suggests that an existing \$7 billion in federal  
technology-promotion programs and in-  
centives is poorly used and ineffective. That  
helps the Liberals to argue that the entire  
system of government subsidies for busi-  
ness should be overhauled—and reduced.

Similarly, since Liberals were suggesting  
even before the release of the report that the  
public works departments—which adminis-  
ter government-owned property—should be  
scrapped, and its operations privatised. And  
the report concludes that, among other  
things, the department could save \$12 mil-  
lion a year just by streamlining the way in  
which it operates. It also asserts that Ottawa  
has failed to recover "hundreds of millions of  
dollars" from the food industry for inspection  
costs, suggests that the Atomic Energy Con-  
trol Board should exercise "even greater rig-  
or" to ensure that the industry remains  
safe, and cites several startling individual ex-  
amples of waste, such as the expenditure of  
\$5 million on the design of a fisheries patrol  
boat that was never built.

At the same time, arguably the most sur-  
prising aspect of the report was Desautels's



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## Carrying a Torch

**Gulf Canada gets a \$300-million injection from Torch Energy**

There was a time—not so long ago—when American investment in the Canadian oilpatch was seen as an outright insult to national sovereignty. In the early 1980s, the Trudeau government passed legislation that ensured the Canadian climate would be especially chilly for foreign operators. But deregulation and free trade have gradually eased regulatory obstacles, and even public attitudes towards foreign acquirers have softened with the steady decline of the large, state-owned multinationals and the ascendancy of smaller, home-grown companies. It was not some latent atmosphere that Texas eddy J. P. Bryan rode into Calgary last week to announce that a group of investors, led by his Torch Energy Advisors Inc., had agreed to purchase about 25 per cent of Calgary-based Gulf Canada Resources Ltd. for \$300 million. Profiling regular toy acquisitions—and industry observers expect as halldaze—Bryan will be moving in January from Houston to Calgary to become Gulf's president and chief executive officer.

In the wake of last week's announcement, Indeed Natural Resources Minister Anne McLellan bristled the deal. "The oilpatch industry has attracted Canadian investment, but it also tends to attract foreign investment," she said. "It's a very different world," she added, explaining why her view diverges from that of her Liberal counterparts past. 15 years ago "We all know that we live in a global economy and it's not possible for us to ward domestic companies to go around the world investing, and not play by the same rules." Last week, that shift in attitude was underscored as debate in the oilpatch swirled

not around whether Americans should be allowed to buy up one of Canada's top oil-and-gas firms, but whether they had invested enough. "It certainly is a step in the right direction," said Richard Wynn, a Calgary-based energy industry analyst with Peters & Goddard. "It's just a question of whether \$300 million will do the trick."

The trick, of course, is to restore Gulf Canada to profitability. Its last \$65 million in the first nine months of this year. And with long-term debt of about \$1.5 billion, the company is carrying what experts say is one of the highest debt loads in the industry. As a result, Gulf has had insufficient cash flow to fully capitalize on what might otherwise be considered a promising base of oil-and-gas assets. At the Calgary news conference, announcing the Torch deal, Bryan said that the \$300 million will go towards drilling and developing Gulf properties rather than paying down the debt. And company officials insisted that the investment is significant enough to move the company forward. Said Gulf spokesman John Sparks: "We've come a long piece, and a cash infusion like the one Torch is making is the way to grow out of our debt."

Gulf's current president and CEO, Chuck Shultz, meanwhile, said that the company will continue to cut operating costs. That may yet mean job losses for some of the firm's 1,000 employees in Canada, including



Bryan, Gulf Canada says is the beneficiary of the deal, is seen welcome for American capital

700 in Calgary. But Shultz, who has been at the helm for five years, will be leaving when Bryan takes over. "I think you either lead or get out of the way," Shultz said.

Oilpatch analysts in Calgary agree that leadership is not the issue at Gulf—drift load is. That can largely be traced back to a period in the mid-1980s, after the Restoule family's Omapex & York Developments Ltd. purchased controlling interest in Gulf Canada from the American giant Chevron Corp. for nearly \$3 billion. In those days, Gulf Canada was a large, integrated company with about 9,000 Canadian employees, gas stations and refineries from coast to coast, and earnings of more than \$200 million. Furthermore, it had just made what appeared to be a phenomenal discovery in the Bonaventure Sea. However, a series of corporate reorganizations and acquisitions drove up the company's debt, even as the 1986 oil price collapse hampered its ability to manage the load. In the meantime, the Bonaventure discovery was proving to be uneconomic. By 1990, Gulf was cutting its staff and, in 1993, it started selling off some of its properties. After being in for a while, it was time to find a buyer for its 25-per-cent stake in the Bonaventure oil patch, Gulf withdrew.

In the meantime, Omapex & York crumbled, and Gulf—which had been pledged to a group of Canadian and foreign banks as part of the collateral for a \$3-billion loan—became 70 percent owned by a consortium of banks. Industry analysts have been waiting for news of its acquisition ever since. "We knew since the beginning of this year that Gulf was in play," said Ben Depp, publisher of the industry newsletter *Energy Digest*. The shoe finally dropped with Gulf's news of 25 million new shares in Torch. That move reduced the stake held by the banks—under the same AIG Resources Corp—from 70 per cent to 52 per cent.

Although questioners still finger about whether Torch's latest investment is enough to turn Gulf around, industry observers hailed the announcement as a positive development. "Gulf's got some pretty good assets, and any amount of new capital is going to help," said Wynn. He noted that the acquisition is part of at least a small-scale return of American investors to the Canadian oilpatch. "Oil and gas is a very capital-intensive industry," Wynn said. "You need to attract capital, and if Canadians can't provide it, why not attract foreign capital?" For Canadian oil companies—which like the nation's football league—that seems to be the operating principle of the day.

MARY NEMETH in Calgary



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# Business NOTES

## A survey of spending cuts

When the Liberal party was elected to form the government just over a year ago, the main focus of the campaign platform was job creation. Since then, as the Canadian economy has pulled out of its economic doldrums and begun to show signs of renewed vigor,

the federal government's budget deficit has moved to the top of the public policy agenda. In October, Finance Minister Paul Martin, emboldened by the priority of deficit reduction in hearings conducted by the House finance committee. However, a recent Gallup poll that assessed Canadians' views on the deficit indicates that, while there is a "high level of concern over its size," there is only a "limited sense of confidence" in Ottawa's ability to cope with it. Furthermore, although the poll reveals that Canadians continue to have "strong feelings about government," they are "not as concerned about the deficit" as they are about the deficit, they do have strong concerns about how the deficit should be addressed.



Minister faces an job

The Gallup pollsters revealed those who agreed with 13 options for deficit reduction. The single most popular choice for cost-cut-

ting—favored by 80 per cent—was reducing the size of the civil service. About 76 per cent endorsed the notion that foreign aid should be curtailed and 71 per cent backed an increase in corporate income taxes. Next, some 70 per cent supported a reduction in defense spending.

Fewer were tempted to make cuts in the social-policy front, with 59 per cent saying that Ottawa should lead its spending on welfare through its transfer payments to the provinces. Only 51 per cent supported reducing spending on unemployment insurance. Even fewer—30 per cent—endorsed reducing or eliminating the tax deductibility of RPP contributions, while 29 per cent supported taxing the interest generated by RPP savings.

In the sphere of revenue generation, less than one-quarter of those surveyed (23 per cent) expressed a willingness to accept higher personal income tax rates to pay down the deficit. And only 29 per cent indicated that major cuts in health-care spending were acceptable, while an even more modest 34 per cent supported the notion of shifting pension payments to seniors.

## Corporate boom

The spending profits of all Canadian corporations climbed by 11.6 per cent in the third quarter of 1994 to \$20.2 billion. That is the highest level since 1989 and, according to Statistics Canada, it means that profits have now rebounded to more than 80 per cent of their pre-recession peak. Commodities such as wood and paper, oil and natural gas, chemicals and metals led the return to profitability. However, returns from the financial services sector—despite the stronger performance of Canada's chartered banks—remained flat because they were offset by slides in the profits of property and life insurance, credit unions and consumer and business financing subsidiaries.

Overall, third-quarter profits were 38.1 per cent higher than the \$15.1 billion level recorded in the second quarter. Second-quarter profit

was also 11 per cent higher than first quarter profits. The third quarter of 1994 was the fourth consecutive quarter in which company profits improved.

## Small is beautiful

A recent report from Statistics Canada indicates that small companies are Canada's most prodigious job creators and have done more to generate new employment this year than large corporations or, in the case of manufacturers, their U.S. counterparts. The study showed that Canadian companies with fewer than 50 employees added jobs at a 26-per-cent annual rate and although many also cut jobs, the net result was an eight-point-per-cent increase in employment. By contrast, companies with more than 500 workers were shedding more jobs (7.3 per cent a year) than they were creating (0.9 per cent annually), for a net loss of 2.2 per cent.

## SECURITIES SELL-OFF

In the biggest sell-off in over two years, foreign investors dumped \$1.8 billion more Canadian securities than they bought in September. According to Statistics Canada, the sell-off occurred in the gap between Canadian and U.S. interest rates diminished, making Canadian bonds and Treasury bills less attractive. In June, Canadian short-term interest rates were two percentage points higher than those in the United States. But the Bank of Canada has since pushed Canadian rates lower, while U.S. rates have risen.

## MIN OF PROPERTY

Drakepage Inc. Goldman Sachs and Co. of New York City advised in the context for Cadillac Fairview Inc., the Toronto-based real estate company. The firm and its partners, which own large chunks of quality Cadillac Fairview debt, delivered a proposal to turn Cadillac's more than \$2 billion of corporate debt into equity or ownership shares and to raise \$200 million new money for the company.

## DEFATING INFLATION

Canada's consumer price index rose 0.2 per cent in October but a year ago. That decline—and an identical one in May—was the only year-over-year price drops since 1992. According to Statistics Canada, one of the major reasons for the decline was a 4.5-percentage-point drop in gasoline prices. A cut in inflation taxes also contributed to low inflation this year. Air travel, hotel rates, fresh fruit, frozen foods, clothing and clothing also fell in price. Consumers paid more, however, in mortgage charges and property taxes.

## TRADING PLACES

Trade made within North America and its favorable exchange rates have cost European companies a big chunk of the Canadian market. Trade analysts claim that across the Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement was introduced in 1988, as exports from Germany, Britain and France have risen from 65 to 49 per cent of their share of the Canadian market. The United States, however, has increased its share of the Canadian import market to 67 per cent, from about 60 per cent in 1988.

## BANKING ON PROFIT

Boosted by a strong portfolio of loans, the Toronto-Dominion bank doubled its profit for the third quarter that ended on Sept. 30 compared with a year earlier. The bank earned \$682 million for the year and \$195 million in the fourth quarter alone. The bank increased its dividend to shareholders by two cents to 22 cents.

## THE NATION'S BUSINESS



# The whiz who runs Ralph Klein's shop

BY PETER C. NEWMAN

Canada's most far-reaching revolution is currently unfolding in Alberta, where the provincial government is attempting radical measures to balance its budget. Ralph Klein is the Man of the Moment in this particular revolution—something like Karl Marx, even when he's behaving like Groucho.

The factotum who is getting into the mix of the politics and details is a 40-year-old ex-Dominion Petroleum executive with a quick mind, alert instincts and blackjack dealer's eyes named Jim Dinning. As provincial treasurer (the equivalent of finance minister), chairman of the government's treasury board and a key member of the powerful agenda-setting executive committee, Dinning oversees Alberta's radical restructuring of Klein's mandate. "The day Ralph and I sat down and talked about the job," he told me during a recent interview in Edmonton, "the greener spelled out what he wanted done, and sort of said, 'Go away and do it.' He believes he has some good people around him, and so does his talent. It's an exceptional opportunity to do what's needed, because he's willing to lead the charge."

In his first budget, tabled last Feb. 28, Dinning moved out to increase taxes or to impose any new costs on the province's 2.5 million Albertans. He said he was not a sales tax, but he reported that in his first year, he had reduced province spending of \$1.5 billion by \$850 million, cut the province's consolidated deficit from \$2.5 billion to \$1.5 billion and reduced the size of the public payroll by nearly 3,000 people to 29,386.

When the Klein government was elected in December, 1993, the province faced a \$2.4-billion deficit and had accumulated an \$11.5-billion deficit. In February, Dinning projected a \$1.2-billion deficit this year, but last week he released a good news revised deficit estimate of \$925 million (which amounts to an 80-per-cent reduction).

## Provincial Treasurer Jim Dinning is a 42-year-old former oil executive with a quick mind and blackjack dealer's eyes

But Dinning was quick to point out that the most positive outlook was a consequence of an unexpected increase in revenues. As a result, the treasurer said it was essential to maintain the government's cost-cutting programs. "We can't rely on volatile, unsteady oil revenue sources to solve our fiscal problems," he declared.

New Year Dinning projects a relatively tight deficit of \$500 million. But he admits that the job is still out as to whether his bold initiatives will succeed. He hopes to talk to a tightly balanced budget in 1995. By then, the provincial deficit will have climbed to \$1.1 billion, and his ultimate destination will become the administration's next target.

"We were determined from the beginning to balance out the deficit because we were convinced that the government was losing its way to prosperity," Dinning points out. "While past collecting totals of \$1.1 billion to \$2.2 billion a year and we figure that's more than enough to spend as a province of 2.7 million people. We don't need to ask Albertans to pay more taxes. There's no God-given right that governments can keep their office in people's pockets and keep them on drawing the money out like a black

cheque. But our plan is not simply to reduce spending. It's about restructuring government so Alberta can receive essential services at an affordable price."

What has made Klein's revolutionary program work is his almost singular political aptitude. After nearly two years of turbulent cost-cutting, his government's popularity rating stands at an amazing 80 per cent. Earlier this year, three-quarters of the province's civil servants voluntarily agreed to a five-per-cent wage cut. Dinning believes that he can get away with the tough fiscal regime he has imposed because Albertans really are different. "I don't want to be too in control about it," he says, "but there is still a unique spirit of a pioneer spirit here that says, God damn it, we've got a problem, so let's not point fingers and lay blame. Let's not spend a word of time wringing our hands about it, let's get on and solve the bloody thing. In fact, most Albertans were way ahead of the government on this issue."

To the many local and frequently jeered complaints that he is trying to implement too many cuts much too fast, Dinning daily declares: "You can't cross a chasm in small steps. To do this thing, you've got to get it done quickly. You only have a limited window during your mandate to effect major structural changes." His bible is Milton Friedman's *Freeze of the State* book, which claims that after 24 months in office politicians inevitably are overwhelmed by pressures against change mobilized by the civil service.

Under Dinning's stewardship, Alberta has reduced the number of school boards from 110 to 57. He also cut 200 health and hospital beds. He reduced universities and changed them with nothing to lose at 18-per-cent margins over the next three years. University and college students have been slashed and professors are in the process of being denied their cozy tenures. "Cutting expenses is what has driven the creativity in restructuring and delivering services quite differently," says he. "I have also allowed us to get out of some businesses that we shouldn't be in, such as selling license plates and running liquor stores."

Alberta's economic growth, at 6.2 per cent, led the nation last year and is expected to do so again for 1995. "We believe that local government is the key to a truly balanced budget and a government can have," Dinning says. "If you've got a balanced budget, a good tax regime, a clean environment and well-educated folks, that's what's going to set us apart from the rest of the world."

Every revolution must have a leader—the charismatic man who gives a thrust and a goal. Equally important is the implementer—the people's pockets and keep them on drawing the money out like a black

# GRETZKY INC.

BY JAMES DEACON

**D**ucking into a Beverly Hills pants bar, Wayne Gretzky hardly looks himself. Maybe it's the ball cap pulled low as he forges the uncharacteristically glum expression on his face or the fact that hockey's proverbial white knight is, from T-shirt to cowboy boots, dressed not gleefully in black. Weirily slumping in his chair, he orders a beer and sighs. "I guess that's it." On the last day of September, National Hockey League commissioner Gary Bettman had just rejected the players' eleven-to-four offer and locked them out, propagating a sense that was supposed to start the next day. Concerned about undermining hockey's leading fan interest in the U.S. Southwest, Gretzky views the labor impasse as about as welcome as a stick to the gut. "I just hope that people understand and the game doesn't suffer too much," he says gloomily. But his mood brightens considerably when the subject turns to hockey's long-term prospects. "This probably annoys me more and more determined than ever," he says. "All the major sports, hockey is the one most on the rise."

Such positive thinking might finally be rewarded if the hockey talks, which showed signs of apparent progress last week, subsume a portion of the season (page 58). But optimism sprang easily from a man who, despite the now semi-weekend lockout, is thoroughly enjoying himself. Gretzky is happily ensconced in the lush life of Los Angeles with his actress wife, Janet, and their three thriving children. His father, Walter, with whom he is extremely close, has recovered from a near-fatal brain aneurysm. The increased thoracic drive in Gretzky's back that nearly cut short his career in 1982 has been converted to money. And at 33, he has empirically demonstrated that reports of his athletic decline were greatly exaggerated: last spring, he scored his 862nd career goal to overtake Gordie Howe's all-time NHL record, and he was his 20th league-leading scorer. Even the lockout has its upside: although frustrated by the impasse, he and his spend summers with his family. And bearing a settlement with the league, he will hold a long-held dream next week when he takes a hard-fought tour of 1981, starts in Europe for a series of games against club teams.

But virtually since the day he first laced a

**Off the ice as well as on,  
The Great One is money  
in the bank**

skate as a professional, Gretzky has quietly pursued a second arena of achievement—business. "It's pretty simple," he explains. "I'm bored by not doing anything with any time off, and before I got married and had kids, I had a lot of time." After a comparatively slow start, his office acquisitions have given new meaning to the term "fast growth." He and his agent, Los Angeles-based Michael Barnett, now juggle a diverse portfolio of endorsements and partnerships with companies that sell everything from hockey sticks and skate blades to insurance and consumer electronics. His corporate partners, eager to associate with The Great One, seek huge profits and higher market profile. In return, they pay Gretzky fees and royalties that, added to the staggering \$11.6-million per-season stipend that the Los Angeles Kings pay him for playing, push his annual income to an estimated \$23.5 million. "Gretzky's legend has transcended his sport so that even mainstream American companies have been able to use him," says Jeff Janowitz, who oversees sports marketing for Advertising Age, the Chicago-based trade journal. "People know what he stands for even if they know nothing about hockey."

Gretzky has kept his business affairs mostly to himself—the luxury costs more publicity, and, he admits, it is his business. But what he once casually referred to as "top line exposure" has become difficult to ignore. He stars in major television advertising campaigns for such consumer goods as Doritos's Pass and Sharp Electronics. He is a co-

porate spokesman for Coca-Cola and Zurich Insurance. He has boosted the bottom-line fortunes of such smaller companies as Easton Sports and inline skate-maker First Team Sports. His name and image are licensed on dozens of products, from trading cards and posters to T-shirts and caps. He has one restaurant in Toronto and will soon help launch a North American chain of sports-themed restaurants in an ill-starred partnership that includes girlfriend Terri Joe Montana, tennis ace Andre Agassi and basketball behemoth Shaquille O'Neal. Time Warner, the giant U.S. communications firm, has developed an extensive video game around him, and he is spearheading a plan to build privately financed, locally-oriented ice rinks across North America. "We have tried to find something I can fall back on when I retire, something I can do when I finish playing hockey," he says.

In a series of recent interviews with *Maxim*, Gretzky talked about how he and Barnett have woven a seemingly disparate group of partners into a mutually profitable web. Although neither he nor his sponsors would divulge the exact dollar details of their contracts, one thing is tremendously clear: off ice as well as on, Gretzky is money in the bank.

If you spent ever had a cowboy kid, it was young Wayne Gretzky. The Bradford, Utah, actor was a certified gleeman at age 18, when he scored 258 goals in one 49-game season as a power forward. He signed his first pro contract at only 17, and tied six-point Marcel Dionne for the most points in his rookie NHL campaign. Since then, he has won the Stanley Cup four times and consistently built an already obliterated paid smile every league all-star record—including the supposedly unattainable milestones set by his idol, Howe. This league-wide impact has been equally impressive: his trade to Los Angeles in 1986 turned around a failing franchise and paved the way for the league to add five more Stanley cups.

The endowment world looks long to conquer, partly because in sport it is not so much what you do as where you do it. Mark Messier, Gretzky's former teammate with the Oilers, won the Stanley Cup five times in Edmonton, but only because the object of marketing desire after winning the Cup last spring with the New York Rangers, Gretzky found the spotlight in Los Angeles, arriving in a born life star in a place that worships and rewards the sportsman. Today, his annual endorsement earnings—estimated at about \$12 million—are topped only by the gods of athletic commerce—including basketball star-turned-baseball trainer Michael Jordan (estimated at \$40 million), boxer Mike Tyson (\$20 million) and venerable golfer Arnold Palmer and Jack Nicklaus (\$30 million each). And Gretzky has done it all despite the fact that hockey, for all its recent forays, remains a poor fourth in the U.S. sports consciousness after basketball, football and baseball. According to Brandon Stener,



• Gretzky kidding around at home: providing off-ice fun

president of Skater Sports Marketing in New York City, hockey stars such as Wayne Gretzky, Brett Hull and Eric Lindros simply do not get above the profile to carry a national U.S. advertising campaign. "You put most of those guys in street clothes out on Madison Avenue," said Stauer, "and no one notices them."

Not so Gretzky. He excites advertisers not so much for the records he sets as for the money he stacks his nets with. He has a wife and his own—massive—manor estate on an estate that gives him space to shoot or to let up on opponents in the deer. He is creative, finding scoring opportunities from seeming chaos. He is a team player, whose assist totals are even more remarkable than his goal records. And he is generous, relieving game by teammates, past players and the pretensions of the game.

Gretzky, 34, has already earned him a record, upon voluntary gesture—he is a model citizen off the ice as well. Advertisers prize him for the wall-to-wall billboards around negative publicity: examples range from the relatively benign, such as figure skater Nancy Kerrigan's post-Olympics pendence, to the team sport's steroid scandals and, at coarse, the arrest of icebreaker O. J. Simpson on murder charges. Gretzky, meanwhile, is an industry guide to both law and reporters. He comes across as the guy next door, albeit a very famous one, an extraordinary family case who houses his parents, his twins and his well-loved sisters. Amazingly rough, associates say, the ice age is a secure—Gretzky really is in those things.

But for sponsors, the most interesting ingredient in the Gretzky mix is the assurance of stability he provides. Even last season, playing on a team that would not make the playoffs, Gretzky was still featured on the news each night as he roared and finally surpassed Howe's goal-scoring record. As a result, his removals outside will be paid the narrow confines of the hard-core hockey crowd. He is frequently invited to talk shows and hosted NBC's Saturday Night Live. His presence at a Coca-Cola sponsored kids' hockey camp last summer in Anaheim, Calif., attracted a camera crew from Entertainment Tonight, the working half-hour of Hollywood Live. He is no longer a mere athlete, he is a full-blown celebrity. Sharp, the Japanese electronics firm made Gretzky the spokesman for its most important consumer product, the VHS videocassette, without even identifying him as a hockey player in its TV ads.

As it happens, Gretzky's first attempt at being a corporate spokesman was a complete bust. Nelson Skalbanow, the Vancouver entrepreneur who in 1989 signed Gretzky to his first professional hockey contract—with the Indianapolis Ice of the World Hockey Association—wanted his prized employee to drive up to his otherwise drab country mansion Skalbanow's purchase of a brewery in Prince George, B.C. Gretzky, who was then an extremely nervous flyer, jetted from Indianapolis to Prince George via Vancouver, but when he arrived, he was refused entry. The event was being staged at a bar, and Gretzky, though already a star, was only 17. He took a cab to the airport and flew back to Indiana.

In great demand to attend corporate functions as charity golf tournaments, Gretzky remembers his first off-ice job as a blur. "I didn't have a schedule, a datebook—any thing," he recalls. "I needed someone in Edmonton to help me, to organize my life. It was hard for me to say no to people. The suit guy at it and never will be." He had met Skalbanow, then an Edmonton entrepreneur, for the first time when he came to attend during the 1979-1980 season, Gretzky's first in the NHL. After discussions with his father, they struck a deal, and soon Gretzky's office affairs began to take shape. His face appeared on ProStar's breakfast cereal boxes, and he was featured in Canadian advertising for such products as Mr. Goodbar's bars, 7-Up and Coca-Cola. By the time Gretzky left Edmonton in 1989, his off-ice income reached an estimated high of more

than \$5 million per year—churny change for Michael Jordan pay, but big bucks by hockey standards.

Gretzky's market muscle was evident with his first endorsement, signed in 1979 with Titan hockey sticks. The then Finnish company agreed to pay \$5,000 a year for three years. "I was 16 years old, I got to travel, meet people, play in pull-outrage, shoot some local TV commercials—it was great," he recalls. "Great," acknowledges the impact on Titan. As Gretzky began cashing in his Indianapolis hockey credentials, stick sales took off. By 1985, when Gretzky switched to Easton sticks, his income from Titan had climbed to \$150,000 per year plus royalties on sales of specific models. During that same period, the company closed importing in North America's stock from Finland and built the world's largest stick manufacturing plant in Cowanville, Ohio. From a little No. 10 in the hockey stick world in 1978, Titan had rocketed to No. 1 a decade later. "We're not impossible for us selling that far away in Canada," says Bob Leeder, sales director for Titan. "He made



● **Electric, from top, Gretzky at home in Beverly Hills with Paulina, Torrey, Janet and Ty; on a building scoring session, holding the Stanley Cup, for the second time, in 1988; and his dad, Walter, in a Coca-Cola TV commercial. "We have tried to build something I can fall back on when I finish playing hockey"**

"Two hockey sticks—one set in the very poor world-famous Detroit, playing up profits for the Oilers and profits for his sponsors. Gretzky may or may not have been shoveling snow as far as most American advertisers were concerned. They understood baseball, basketball and football, they knew Magic Johnson, Reggie Jackson and Joe Montana. But although he had some U.S. contracts, Gretzky had still not broken through with mainstream America. That attitude changed when he moved north. Overnight, hockey became cool in California, and Gretzky became a hot commercial property. Wang president Bruce McNall, who had seen his own lifetime pleasure and now faces four charges of defrauding banks for more than \$200

million, said that even the entertainment industry took notice. "I remember being in a room to party the last night that Wayne was in L.A., and all the stars were lined up to get his autograph," McNall recalled last summer. "He was shocked and a little embarrassed, but I think it showed the level to which he was known even before he played here."

The attention was fleeting, but it was not an impossible task for Gretzky. He was young, handsome, where he had been happy, and the Oilers, one of hockey's greatest-ever teams, even today, his owner Peter Pocklington "telling me out of Edmonton." But Gretzky knows how to make the best of a bad situation—consider how many goals he has set up while being committed behind the opposing team's net. So he decided to make the best of the trade to Los Angeles, and in a result he has become rich beyond his wildest dreams.

It is a striking hot July day in Southern California, and the car is in a building up between cracks in the deserted parking lot surrounding The Pond at Anaheim. But inside, the scene is cool and alive. In the plush home of the NHL's Mighty Ducks, a scene befitting the mascot's Disney movies is in full swing. On one section of the rink, well-aided kids career around like bumper cars, colorfully trying to send the puck away from the hole and into their net. They smack from back and call out names. Finally, they knock him down, capture the puck and send their victim grazing to the bench in search of water. Lining against the boards, Gretzky draws a towel across his forehead and laughs at the suggestion that he has set his match. "I'm still hot," he says. "I'm getting it." "I'm still hot," he protests. "I'm still hot, I'm still hot."

Although he enjoys working with kids, summer hockey is strictly business for Gretzky, one of many corporate obligations on his off-season day. Companies pay him six and seven figure annual fees to be their spokesman, and two of the five days he works for Coca-Cola each year are spent playing host to the kids at the Future Stars camp. Gretzky's duties vary with the company. With some, he meets with stock or equity at sales meetings. Most use him in print and TV advertising. Others simply ask him to play key clients like a guy on the golf course.

Profit and publicity are the goals and means of the marketing game, and Gretzky delivers both. Tony Luginbuhl, vice-president of corporate communications for Toronto-based Zurich Insurance, says that his firm started using Gretzky in its advertising in 1988 and within three years spent 30 percent more in consumer-awareness surveys. Every summer, thousands of kids around North America pay respects to Coke and 800 in billions in bags of money the chance to see him at the camp. And Stuart DeGross, national director of field marketing for Jeep Arber, Mich.-based Deere's Plaza Inc. reports that since Gretzky is advertising his own company's market programs in Canada that sales are relatively small, around—180 Canadian outlets compared with 4,000 in the United States.

But Gretzky is more than a figurehead. In case, in the sales vernacular, more product, as he has several deals with smaller firms that could afford his usual in-flight fees but offered him a percentage of profits. Industry analysts say that such sponsors can profit his annual income from a few million to well over \$1 million. Along with Gretzky's help, some of his sponsors have been extraordinarily successful. Canon for example, approached him in 1986 about endorsing an aluminum-shaded stick. When the company built one to his specifications, Gretzky agreed to a five-plus-yearly deal for four years (it has since been renewed). Lastly, a private company based in Van Nuys, Calif., does not release financial information. Its industry sources estimate that its hockey sales have increased to more than \$40 million from about \$15 million in five years. First Vice

Sports, a Minneapolis-based manufacturer of Ultra-Whorl roller skates, signed Grindley in 1990 and now its skate sales climb to an estimated \$35 million in 1994 from only \$4 million in 1990. "We are trying to grow in Europe," says Dave Soderquist, the company's vice chairman, "and even in places like Switzerland or Austria we can show buyers a catalogue with his picture in it and everyone knows Wayne. He comes across in new markets."

Gretzky is extremely confident about which hockey gear affects his on-ice performance. He knows, for instance, that he has had to turn down rich offers from skate companies because Gretzky wears a brand—Dunham—that pays him nothing but that gives him perfectly (Pretzky is a relative term) steady hockey-wear deals, so, to improve his skating, he craves his new 90s-era custom-made pair of size 9½ skates. "My profession is hockey," he explains, "and I'll can't function at my best, I'm not going to be thought of in my other arena."

In recent years, Grutsky has agreed to endorse The Official All-Star Club, a new restaurant chain run by himself. Each year, he founded the successful Star Rock Cafe and Planet Hollywood franchises. Earl is co-owner on Grutsky's Montana, Offroad and Agents in gun shops people of sports bars and night club service restaurants. And in November, Time Warner Interactive announced that Grutsky will be depicted as the size of the forthcoming "Grutsky's All-Star Hockey" video game. Grutsky did not eat out much. Also coming in 1995 is a new athletic shoe—for street hockey—designed with Grutsky's help by Santa Monica, Calif.-based L.A. Gear.

These are the companies that pay to have Mr. 99 on their teams:

- AM CANADA**  
CHOCOLATE PROCESSING  
(chocolate and metalizing)
- COCA-COLA**  
COGI BROS. BEER  
(personality ads)
- JOHNNY'S PIZZA**  
SAVON SPORTS  
Hockey attire and equipment
- USA TEAM SPORTS**  
(First World Ice Skates)
- WALLBROSERS** (ice skating)
- L.A. GEAR** (shoes and clothes)
- THE OFFICIAL ALL-STAR CLUB**  
U.S. restaurant chain
- TIME WARNER INTERACTIVE**  
(video games)
- UPPER CUSH** (hockey camp)
- UPPER DECK** (American cards)

Perhaps the most ambitious project Gensky is currently associated with is developing private airfields throughout North America. Designed by Toronto-based Brydles Brook & Brown Architects, each Wayne Gretzko's (www.gensky.com)

for all he does there, the risk remains Getty's main place in business. It is what pays his most and what he loves best, and it is where his loyalty is greatest. When players' associations boss Bob Goodenow wanted to add weight to his complaint over new rules, he called on Getty. "I was the only one there," when Goodenow said so. "They are going to be more like constantly creating than anything else." Getty says.

Beltrami wanted to enhance the image of the league, he suggested that Gretzky attend Sports Illustrated's 40th anniversary TV special. Gretzky had placed 12th on the magazine's list of the most influential sports figures of the past four decades. And International Hockey Federation president Rene Fasel complained that superstar legends had trouble filling Gretzky's European tour with their own ideas, but he compiled anyway. "What can you do?" Fasel said. "He is so famous." At times, says teammate Marty McSorley, Gretzky puts too much of his broader responsibilities "on me, can get so involved with the issues of the sport," says McSorley. "But sometimes I want to shake him and scream him that he's not a player."

The European experience grew out of a concept that Greville and

## THE GRETZKY PORTFOLIO

These are the companies that pay to have No. 29 on their doors:

**ART CRAFTS**  
**CHICAGOLAND PROCESSING**  
 (bars and modelling)  
**COCA-COLA**  
**COG/BOGS BROS.**  
 (personality posters)  
**DOMINO'S PIZZA**  
**EASTON SPORTS**  
 (hockey sticks and equipment)  
**FIRST TEAM SPORTS**  
 (Ultra-Wheely in-line skates)  
**HAILEY/BECK4000** (clothing)  
**LA. GUMS** (shoes and clothes)  
**SMARTELECTRONICS**  
**THE OFFICIAL ALL-STAR CAFE**  
 (JLS, mascot chair)  
**TIME WARRIOR INTERACTIVE**  
 (video games)  
**UPPER DECK** (trading cards)  
**UPPER DECK AUTHENTICATION**

● **Breaking Howe's points record in 1988:** Hockey remains his bottom line

harvesting proposals to their NHL president John Ziegler in 2009. The idea—designed to enable top NHL players from all countries to take part in the 1992 Winter Olympic games in Albertville, France—was just an hockey administrator's bid. The National Hockey Association sent a Dean Toms to the 1992 Summer Games in Barcelona and, partly as a result, European interest in basketball has boomed. Grigaly's private dream team plans the stops—in Helsinki and Tampere in Finland; Oslo, Norway; and Göteborg, Stockholm and Malmö, Sweden—and, along the way, The Great One himself, will feature such NHL stars as Messier, Sergei Fedorov, Brett Hull, Paul Coffey and Doug Gilmour.

When Gossage plays for the Kings, he is paid handsomely: he was in the middle of a three-year, \$34.8-million deal. At \$11.6 million per year, it is the highest annual salary in team sports history. "The contract," says Barnett, "had to reflect what he had done for the Los Angeles franchise, not only on the ice but off it as well." The locker



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news that sales in the early weeks of the season were higher than expected. "He knew the numbers looked good, but he wasn't going to be impressed until he had seen what we had spent," Binko says. "A lot of people think that it's just Ferrari doing all the deals, but Wayne knows his way around business like a very astute dad."

Getty's fiscal conservatism breaks down when it comes to family. He loves to surprise his wife and dear with lavish presents among other things, he bought a new fishing boat for his father, a Ferrari for just one Mother's Day and a Porsche for Father's—the latter was a surprise. "I don't like it or I haven't decided yet," usually, though, he is careful. "I don't like being flashy," he says. "But you still have to enjoy your success. I work really hard. I like to buy clothes, and I like to travel with my family. I just don't want to be stupid about it and send the wrong message to my kids."

Joel, who starred in such movies as *The Flamingo Kid* (1984) and *Police Academy 5* (1988) and is again pursuing a performing career, steers the spotlight away from their children as best she can. "We have had a lot of offers to use our kids in things, and we have kept them out of it," she says. They made an exception with the Sharp commercial, which showcased Ty's first-ever on-screen adventure, but that is as far as she is willing to go. "I want him to concentrate on sports and kids and school," she says. "I don't want him to be a celebrity."

Success could go to Getty's head, but it would have to fight through his family to get there. His wife and father, though enormously supportive, are his reality checks. "I just try to impress upon him how fortunate he is," Binko says. "Not everyone is in his position." Nor is Getty likely to take his business life for granted. "I don't want to take the money and run," he says. "I get a kick when people say that their company has gone from here to there since I joined."

Still, the business that Getty finally returns to is probably the one he has been in all along—hockey. "I would love to be part of an ownership group, initiate an entire organization together," he says. "And I would love for it to be with the Kings." But he is not miffing just yet—he expects to play at least two more years—and that is why, beyond his worries about the effect of the lockout, Getty also admits to a sense of personal loss. In Anaheim, even in Southern California, a man who has lived by the rhythm of the state is nearly to state: "I am at an age when I do not want to chase any time out there," he says. "I want to play." And that, for Getty, is the bottom line. □

## THE NHL DANCES AROUND A DEAL

There is a popular hockey myth that tells of how Wayne Gretzky single-handedly rebuffed the 1992 National Hockey League players' strike by promoting a more conciliatory position among his fellow players. It makes Getty laugh. "Yes, he did not think the strike was then in the best interests of the players and the sport, and yes, he did fly to New York City for a critical meeting. But I didn't say that this was what we did to do," he recalls. "I gave people my opinion. I have a little bit of insight, and some guys listened to me." Now, he says, he is in no position to influence the resolution of the now-week-old lockout. Whereas it was the players who struck in 1992, now it is league commissioner Gary Bettman and the team owners who have shut down the sport. "I want the

salary cap that punishes them for the owners' imprudent spending. Even when the two sides chose not to discuss the payroll tax, progress on other aspects of the contract was still slow. "We've got some very, very difficult issues to try to work our way through," Goodenow said after emerging from another bargaining session. "It's part of the process."

Getty's position in the sport gives him a view of both sides. He is considered the most influential member of the players' association, but he also has the ear of many team owners because of his importance to the league's image. Mike, one of the NHL's corporate sponsors, was introduced to hockey sponsorship through an endorsement deal with Getty. And when his trade to Los Angeles made the Kings enormously popular,

league governors decided to disport into other rich and sunny markets in Florida and California. In his capacity as an ambassador of the game, Getty is supportive of Bettman, the former senior vice-president and general counsel of the National Basketball Association who became NHL commissioner in early 1993. "If I were an owner, I'd want Mr. Bettman running the league," he says. "He has delivered a lot of deal, new sponsorships, an Olympic deal—from that point of view, he has done a new job."

But Getty does not support the league's solution in its bid to limit player salaries. The owners, he says, have picked a fight with the players when they ought to be bashing each other. No one is forcing them to sign players at inflated rates, and each ridiculous contract sets another precedent that affects all the other owners.

"Who is scared of who here?" Getty asks. "The owners are scared of this partner, that's who." The obvious way to fix the problem is not with a salary restriction but with good management, he says. "But the sad fact," adds Goodenow, "is that there are only handful of really smart hockey guys out there."

To keep busy, Getty travels to Detroit this week to begin training with other stars in anticipation of next week's European exhibition. The Getty and Fawcett Trust has sparked enormous interest among fans, while TV networks and corporate sponsors—both in North America and overseas—immediately signed on. Although Getty claims that he did not bring the heat to just pressure on the league, its momentum reinforces the fact that the players made the sport go round.

A.B.



□ The Gretzkys: the most influential player in the association

league to prosper," Getty says, "but when push comes to shove, I am part of a union and I am not going to back off that."

Despite appreciable progress at negotiations between Bettman and players' association chief Dick Goodenow, the crisis will not be resolved in its entirety by the end of last week. The league is intent on outlasting sky-rocketing player salaries, and the two sides have finally begun to make headway on such issues as salary arbitration, the entry draft, free agency and rookie salaries. But the players were willing to make concessions only when the owners temporarily took the most contentious issue off the table. Previously, the team owners had insisted on a luxury tax—up to 122 per cent on higher-than-average team payrolls. Insiders say that the owners might be willing to cut that number in half or even lower. But the players flatly reject any payroll tax, claiming that it sets a



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# The Methuselah of pro sports

BY TRENT PRAYNE

It wasn't just Michael Moore, the prolific satirizer/henryweight champion of the known universe, who was astonished about three weeks ago in Las Vegas when the bald balloon, George Foreman, unfurled him in the 10th round with a solitary right-hand punch. Along with Moore, there was an audience of scribbles shocked that George should perform his feat at the ripe old age of 45 (some say 46).

Almost immediately, the scruffy, elevated George dominated other sports Methuselahs such as Jack Nicklaus, who won the Masters golf title when he was 46, George Blanda, 48 while boasting field goals for the Oakland Raiders, Nolan Ryan, 48, blowing strikes past hitters, and Arthur Moore, 40 when he vacated the lighter heavyweight title in 1962.

An older happens when a herd of U.S. citizens shares a dialogue, a given coap or a television broadcast, not many non-Americans are overwhelmed with attention. In this case, who could blame Gordie Howe, the oldest active athlete of all, who played a full 19 games National Hockey League season for the Hartford Whalers at an age when, if he were impaled and impugned to meet George Foreman he could say, "What's new, Squard?"

How old was he? Gordie was 52 when he finally hung up his NHL long johns and packed away his own solitary right-hand punch the often used, more, but one was usually enough. He had been out there for 52 big-league seasons, most of them for Detroit, a few of them for Houston and the last of those for Hartford. This man even played right wing for a couple of seasons beside his son-in-law Mike, and he has since realized that on 15 occasions when a goal was scored it was by Howie from Howe and Howe. During his final NHL season this grandfather of two, who at age 40 had scored his 1,000th big-league goal, scored 15 times and managed to indulge in what he called "redhead hockey." It's better to give than to receive.

And oh, how he could give. One spring,

**Gordie Howe was big-boned and modest with an uncanny sense of anticipation, always seeming to know where the puck would carom**

single-handedly, he knocked the entire New York Rangers team out of the playoffs. That's what Rangers coach Phil Watson claimed, anyway, after Howe beat up Lou Piantoni, a tough Ranger defenseman and team leader in a fight that got a three-game suspension for the old Left Insignia. In a current book, *Gordie: A Hockey Legend*, Ray MacKinnon notes that the Left Insignia reported that, with one handshake hit, Howe got a tight grip on the neck of Piantoni's sweater and with the other he began gouging. "Fornicate in the dirt, over and over," "belly, whoa, whoa, just like someone chopping wood."

At the time, the Rangers appeared to have a playoff berth assured, a safe margin in front of the Toronto Maple Leafs. But Howe's destruction of Piantoni had a psychological impact on the Rangers players and the team lost six of its final seven games. That punctuated the Leafs in walk into the playoffs by a single point and on a subsequent television program, Phil Watson's combative fellow from Montreal who had been a star player for the Canadiens, told your secret pleasantly, "We never got over Gordie's gouging. His nose looked like the subway hat."

Nonetheless, Howe recalls that, despite the

violence, there was a kinship between the fiercely competitive players. He says he and Foreman remain friends. A year ago he told TV interviewer Jane Collinson he proved before every game that no one would get hurt.

"But you administered a lot of it," exclaimed Collinson.

"Yeah," Howe admitted, grinning a little and starting at those familiar cuts clamped in his lip. "I guess I did."

For years at Detroit, Howe and his left wing partner Ted Lindsay were a devastating pair. Lindsay was a cocky, snorting rail-thinought of a man, a well-muscled sack of dynamite. One night in Maple Leaf Gardens, he lashed the boss of a full house by lifting the winning goal. Then, he flayed his stick and held it like an automatic rifle and sprayed the adulated crowd with snarling bullets grazing wickedly.

He and Howe were distinctly unlike. Lindsay was lean and cocksure, snarling snidely along the boards. Howe was big-boned and modest with an uncanny sense of anticipation, always seeming to know where the puck would carom. "Ted told me two things," Howe reflected once. "Each time you step on the ice, see who's there as you'll know who's with you and who's against you. The other thing Ted told me, don't drop your stick first."

"So one night in a game, here comes this guy and we get a little out of sync. Take to drop your stick?" and he says, "Start, and drop it. Where, he whacks his stick across my head for six stitches. I had to laugh. 'There,' I said to myself. 'I forget that lesson Ted taught me.'"

As a young boy of 17 coming out of Floral, Sask., near Saskatoon, Howe was tall and strong but shy and withdrawn. However, as his seasons grew he forced himself to stand up at banquet tables and make speeches, and at the possession of his eloquent wife, Collinson, he studied newspaper crowd-puzzlers, looked up answers the following day and went to a dictionary for the meaning of words new to him. In time, he developed an easy sagacious-but-looked style, and late in his career he often amplified his conversation with stately self-deprecating asides: "I'm pretty in slow motion" and "I don't know the new facts at this league. I only get to see the new facts on these books."

"That fat, Gordie, 66, and Collinson, who has long been her husband's business manager, had planned bringing out his autobiography. Ironically, MacKinnon says in his book that "it seems wrong that hockey's greatest living player still hasn't recounted his career from start to finish."

MacKinnon was hatched of collaboration with Gordie on his autobiography, but the Howes declined. So this fall, Ray went ahead and published his own account of the great player's life. This distressed the Howes sufficiently that they decided not to bring out their book this fall. Thus, the unadorned account of the life and times of the real Methuselah of big live sports has gone to the back burner for at least a year.

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# THE TROUBLE WITH JOURNALISTS

Media Watcher George Bain challenges the notion that libel laws fetter the press

The term "libel chill" has entered in media circles to describe an apprehended state of fear of publishing a critical article about a well-known subject who has a habit of filing lawsuits. Many journalists complain that libel chill and the so-called reverse onus provisions of Canadian law have restricted the freedom of the press to report on people or matters of public interest. In his new book, *Goathead: How the Media Dastard the News*, media critic George Bain suggests that journalists in Canada are suffering from Yankee envy. He questions the conventional wisdom in the journalism trade that Canadian libel laws act as a constraint on freedom of the press. Bain, a veteran reporter and columnist who worked for the *Toronto Globe and Mail* and *The Toronto Star* before he retired in 1994, writes for *Media Watch* column for *Maclean's*. Libel is the subject of a chapter titled "Chill or Its Child." An abridged excerpt.

Lucas A. Powe Jr., an American authority on what is known generally in the United States as First Amendment law, has said that people in his country would claim about libel that any other form of non-criminal law. The explanation is not that libel is so common, in fact, he says in *The Private Sphere and the Constitution: Freedom of the Press in America* that it makes "an insignificant blip in the statistics of American courts." Rather, it is so much brought to public attention because libel affects free press "and the press assumes, with becoming cynicism, that anything that affects it is important to us, too."

That same assumption, and the cynicism that goes with it, are no less justified in Canada. That is why everyone who has read, seen or heard the news is all at least a little more likely to have some gleaming recollection of the term "libel effect" in another context than that of minor temperatures and billing winds.

The most common definition of libel chill is a fear induced in the media at the thought of being tied up in court forever, and at great expense, because someone who is (or alleges to be) rich has taken offence at something being said about him. Thus, a cramp is put upon freedom of the press, the crimp of fear, which may cause the withholding of information the public should have. It lies, of course, with those



Paul Reichmann

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who complain of the chill to say what information the public should have.

What the argument omits is the fact that persons who are not at all famous by name, and not rich, may feel they have been grossly defamed, but may not feel a similar chill at the thought of going up against a large media corporation to seek redress. The stress appears to be the curious effect of blinding out the second

part of this double standard.

Not is that all. Any proceeding which challenges an assumed right of the press to do anything may bring forth dark and murky about an intrusion on the constitutional guarantee of a free press. A court grants an injunction to delay—not to ban, although it is usually so described—the broadcast of something because it might influence a jury at a trial. That may be represented as standing for in the hands of producers, which may cause them to back off from doing the fearless, challenging documentary they have in mind. What of the right of the person on trial to be judged by an impartial jury? Tough. The right of the public to know—wherever defined—must take precedence if freedom is to prevail. Better a man be in the limelight than the media become self-censoring, backing away from subjects because of imposed timidity.

No one, of course, is obliged to believe the plain without reservation, or to sympathize with it. Every time an older takes pencil in hand, or a reporter manuscripts the corner of the computer, to custom the next several paragraphs to the conventional journalistic whistles, he or she is reasoning—so the case writer. It is called editing. Such editing is done for all sorts of reasons: from the simple one of space or time, to the editor's having found the information improbable, mostly accurate or biased—all qualitative judgments.

Some prominent persons who have been known to react badly to things published about them—the Bushmans family, for example, or Conrad Black—have become themselves living symbols of chill not imposed by Frosty the Snowman. They have money, they are considered to have easily bruised sensitivities, and they may at any time, it is feared, sue the first to dissent about for the second. Chill is everywhere and the sensibilities of the media to it are tender.

# JOURNALISTS



Conrad Black

Freedom of the press, whether construed broadly or narrowly, is a warrant to act in print or on air about anything the publisher or broadcaster is prepared to take responsibility for. In other words, it is not necessary, before going ahead, to subject material to be read for acceptability, or to apply for a license to publish, or even to get an informal nod of approval anywhere.

Except in extraordinary circumstances—such as a court intervening to say that this or that should not be published at this time—there is no prior restraint, as the term is. After the event, things are different: that is where accountability comes in. Freedom of the press does not mean press immunity from criticism, questioning or full blown public denunciation. More important, it does not supersede the civil law which recognizes defamation as a tort, defined as a wrongful act which results in injury to another person's bodily well-being, property or reputation, among other things.

What the undersold bulk of journalists

**'Some prominent persons who have been known to react badly to things published about them have become themselves living symbols of chill not surpassed by Frosty the Snowman'**

regard as the most glaring aspect of the Canadian law is that the act of writing (or saying) is libel—obviously not the only defence—is the defence of publication. What justifies a trial—but the defendant must be able to prove it. That reverse onus, as it is called, is the reverse of what applies in most damage suits, in which the party charging injury is left to make his or her case. That injury actually was done and by what, both of the defendant.

The Canadian law has defenders among some journalists and lawyers, who say to effect that a little bit of chill encourages further effort to nail things down, and so improves accuracy. The evidence that it actually does so is at best patchy, but it is difficult to argue that easing the law would make any thing better.

The reverse onus has gone from U.S. law, but while it remained an interesting side-light was cast upon it by a highly successful libel lawyer, E. Douglas Sullivan, who looked after the legal troubles of *The New York Herald Tribune* over a period of 29



public may well not agree with the positions perpetually being advanced on their merits. News outlets, like the producers of any product or service consumed by the public, can be properly seen as private operations.

Therefore—in Lupsky's words, but in mine—their claims as advocates of the people to be somehow different, somehow removed from the legal strictures that apply to others, are unwarranted pretensions if not actual delusions of grandeur—and a disavowal of a thoroughly good standard.

Through much of the reporting and commentary as the judge's stay order draws on it, the threat of suggestion that this sort of thing

would never be tolerated at the United States and, accordingly, should not be accepted in this country. American reporters, from Buffalo and other nearby border points, were quoted to that effect, properly against the thought. What was worse was that various domestic efforts seemed to accept, not just in this case but in subsequent others in which less substantial delays were imposed, that Canadians just were catching up to do.

**'The notion  
that we need a  
made-in-America  
press law rests  
on thin logic'**

How so, and why? Two facts underlie this reservation (also American law. The first is that to look at press law without looking south would be difficult. As a constitutional exercise, it begins there. There are 300 years of American jurisprudence relating to the press—and there can't be many fewer books on it than there are seats in Maple Leaf Gardens. The inclusion of freedom of the press in the Constitution of Canada dates only from 1982. Before that, we were not without freedom of the press—it was honored as long or more than now, in common law—but it was not written down until it was included in our charter as a fundamental freedom.

The second fact is that, now that we have freedom of the press in our Constitution just like the Americans, the thinking of Canadian journalists has turned to the development of a body of press law that will also be just like the Americans'. What has helped that along, on top of the island Canadian leaning to copycatting, is the fact that the pretensions now dominant in journalism become politically aware of the same time as radical changes in press law and everything else were occurring in our all-purpose role model to the south. Their attitudes generally came from there.

But the notion that we need made-in-America press law rests on thin logic.

Freedom of the press was conceived as the United States around the idea of an independent, numerous and disputatious press as the collective guarantor that would bring every possible viewpoint to bear on the serious matters of government, not so much to keep it honest as to keep it democratic. The press would be the people's watchdog and informant. Such outside surveillance is valuable in a system in which the executive or government does not sit in the legislature—as it does in the parliamentary system—where it is answerable on a day-to-day basis to the direct representatives of the people. Therefore, the power conferred on the US press in 1791, by way of an irrevocable freedom to publish without interference, had a recognized rationale and purpose.

If the Canadian federal-provincial confederation who produced the Charter of Rights in 1982 decided what freedom of the press was for, beyond perhaps the gratification of the media, they did not say. Certainly the US reasons for special treatment do not apply in Canada, and the assumptions on which the US First Amendment was based have become, by the Nineties, too ludicrous to be taken seriously. The Canadian media are neither numerous nor, as in ownership, diverse. As to their being disinterested, at least among themselves, every indication is in the opposite direction to become more and more alike. (1)

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# The crime of making children disappear

BY ROB LEVIN

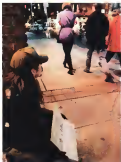
We barely see them. We pass them in the morning and at lunch hours and they say, "Scare some change?" or "most often we can secretly spare a '20, sorry" as they pass, let alone look them in the eye. We pass them again on the way home from work, kids who have rather a house on their work, who for all their street-tough swagger might as well be invisible. They inhabit a parallel world, there but not there.

It's a late November night in downtown Toronto, where most people at this magazine work, in an area that also happens to be a success for street kids. A handful of huddled on Yonge Street, barely sleeping in the deepening chill. They gaze at each other, their eyes or lips at mouths, like confetti bits anywhere, only no one here is dressing down. They're coming—as many as 5,000 at all, from across the country—to a place of bright lights and big dreams and restaurant agencies that provide food, shelter, legal aid, medical care, counseling, condoms and needle exchanges. This is a hard season. Whatever it may be, they're heading for the shelters, for breakfast places for abandoned buildings. Christmas is coming, too, and the store windows, tired and reaching, are a cruel stare.

"We have to be there first," says Sandra Boyd, an outreach worker for government-supported Youthlink Inner City, making her nightly rounds of hangouts. "They are people sleeping, people going home to live their families, and it brings back memories of rejection as kids always in jail or group homes, when parents or grandparents were drunk or there were big arguments. It's what we call a trigger."

You think, "They, who? for us, you guys get it all this and we get nothing?" says a girl named Winnipeg. She's 17 but looks younger, still barefoot and beeked-faced, though she is a four-year veteran of the streets. Some of the kids seem wary of outsiders, of a stranger with a notebook. Forget the talk, get a cigarette? Others are eager to tell their stories, speaking matter-of-factly, but with a hint of pride—pride, their words say. It's grim but not a surprise.

"I've lived worse or less all over," says the Winnipegger, who says she left home because her father left her miserably. "I'm coming. I'm tired. That's Toronto. The first couple of weeks here I lived on a rooftop over this record store.



Penetration: inhabiting a parallel world

I lived in a park after that, and when it got cold or I started living in a park. On a good day, she says, panhandling yields maybe \$25 on a bad one. \$5 or \$10. That's a lot of money here. "People don't understand why we're out here," she says. "They think we just ran away from home, but most of us got locked out or left for a really good reason." She means a broken that reads "God Forgives, I Don't."

Neither does another girl, a blonde from Northern Ontario—her description of her parents is unimpeachable. She is only 16, two years from home. She streams in a shelter, makes her money "panning, selling drugs, doing tricks sometimes, robbing people, anything—just have to survive." She laughs. She sounds almost pleased with herself, with her ability to shock. She wears her denim like a shield.

Alarmed but not alien—these are Canadian kids. And they are invisible not only because we don't want to put with a loser but because we don't want to acknowledge what they represent. Read the literature: under the middle-

class kids who typified the counterculture street scene of the Sixties and early Seventies and a Queen's University study in 2000, "homeless kids are missing from their homes rather than the street." Sure, some are from privileged backgrounds: some come looking for jobs or adventure. But, reported Toronto's Hospital for Sick Children last year, "children of impoverished, dysfunctional, often violent families preoccupied." It's a depressing pattern—of job losses, poverty, family violence. Five years ago last week, the House of Commons resolved to end child poverty by the year 2000. Good luck. UNICEF says that, among industrialized nations, only the United States has a higher child-poverty rate than Canada.

And don't doubt the stress. The majority of street youths—as high as 90 per cent in some surveys—report physical or sexual abuse back home. Any sort of taking comfort from the late-carnegie debate—anyone believing that the scale of child sex-abuse stories is solely a creation of transgressive press challenges—should talk to these kids.

One young man, 21, with ring piercings aplenty, says he was street in a second household in suburban Toronto. Family members socially shunned him from the time he was in a small child, he says he left at 13. He is standing on the street where he now lives, near the Ontario government buildings in an area known as Illegitimate for all its young male prostitutes (local workers claim, with a hint of snarl, that they've seen across Canada seem to be located near government buildings). At first, he says, heading made him sick. "But you get used to it. I guess. It's a job." His dream is to find a "sugar daddy"—a man who will take him home and support him to return for sex.

This is a sexy life. AIDS, of course. And quicker illness, since July, for Toronto women—two of them pregnant—have been shot, police fear a serial murderer, and hookers fear they may be next. No fun is out the fantasy stuff of *Pretty Woman*, and no, and street life is not the *Ghetto*. Some kids do escape: they manage to go back to school, to get a job, a place of their own. The many don't. "It's really hard if you've been prostituting for five years to put together a resume," notes Tim Heidebrecht, a social worker with Street Outreach Services. "What do you say, you have great people skills?"

It's so fashionable to suggest that we've become a society of victims, in which all manner of whiners and losers go on chin-slows in blame narrative case. Even the most liberal observer may wonder why street kids don't just get over it and get on with their lives. That these are, after all, "lightened" Toronto children, as Toronto's lower-class magazine, *Gotham* Varsity, puts it. They haven't lived very long or very well—they've endured torments most of us can only imagine—leaving scars we can't see. Who are we to sit in judgment? Who are we, trading pain if they ask for pocket change, to make them disappear?



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## PEOPLE

### KAREN'S SWAN SONG

"I'm not interested in repeating myself." Karen Kam once said. Last week in Toronto, she followed that credo as she performed her most unusual role—Odette in Tchaikovsky's *Swan Lake*—for the last time. An adoring audience showered her with flowers as balloons exploded on the stage during a 15-minute standing ovation. For Kam, 63, the role has been an important one. In 1972, when the National Ballet of Canada's *Vernieuwings* was opened, artistic director Udo Franzen picked Kam out of the corps to take the lead in *Swan Lake*. Over the next 23 years, she performed it opposite such dancers as Rudolf Nureyev and longtime partner Frank Augustyn. (In Moscow in 1973, Kam and Augustyn—there to perform, among other pieces, a pas de deux from *Swan Lake*—began an eight-year love affair. As Kam recounts in her autobiography, *Movement Never Ends*, the first romantic stirrings occurred when Franzen locked them in a hotel room to rest.) Kam's last *Swan Lake* is not her last stand. Next spring, she will lead in Kenneth McMillan's *A Month in the Country*, the first time the modern classic has been staged outside England's Royal Ballet. Compared to the thing to do with the Swan Queen behind her, Karen Kam is still not going to get much rest.

Kam, the part that began her career



## HOT AND COLD

After getting the laughs every week for seven years in a regular on-Saturday Night Live, Drew Carey is acutely making the adjustment to the big screen. Says Carey, who plays Mike Myers' seditious Garth in the *Wayne's World* sequel: "You're shooting the film and you're wondering whether it will be funny a year later." His latest movie, *Parade in Paradise*, opens this week and co-stars Carey as a headliner who ends up in the fictional basket of Paradise, was shot last winter in the Ontario town of Niagara-on-the-Lake. For the San Francisco native, it seemed anything but paradise. "Good, it was cold," he recalls. "It was 45 below on a daily basis." But Carey and family—wife Paula Swaggon and children, Don, 3, and Toss, 1—found northern hospitality warmer than the weather. "The people were unbelievably friendly," he recalls. "Our host had the flu and they were offering us rides to the hospital—complete strangers."

As his on-character Chet Lady might have said, isn't that special?

Carey: cool weather, but warm people



## NORTHERN AFFINITIES

When Vancouver-born Robert Ito was in Japan, N.W.T., earlier this year shooting *Trial of Furihata Bay*, a cinematic drama set on Dec. 4, many locals assumed he was no local. "Lots of the women asked me which village I was from," recalls Ito, who is of Japanese descent and plays an indie rebel in the movie. Since becoming an actor in the 1960s, the former National Ballet of Canada dancer has played a variety of characters, including Jack Knapman's assistant in *Genie M.E.* and, more recently, an interned Japanese-Canadian in the upcoming TV movie *Hitman*. (He himself was interned in British Columbia when he was 11.) *Trial of Furihata Bay* marks his first visit to Canada's North, and he says that he felt an affinity for Pacific Islanders. "We come from the same source," he says of the Japanese and the Inuit. (He even sampled such local delicacies as whale blubber and reindeer liver. "It was delicious," he says of the liver. When it wasn't...)

Ito: local delicacies

## A BIG APPLE BEDTIME STORY

As the writer and social commentator Paul Lebowitz is doing a reading at South New York City—regarding, just talking and blabbing. That makes her latest book something of a surprise. *Mr. Glass and Lisa See Meet the Hunkies* is the title might imply, is a children's book. "I really always wanted to write one," insists Lebowitz, who achieved fame in 1973 with her best-selling *Micro-junkies Call*. "Whenever someone has a baby, I buy the child a book," she adds. "It's cheaper than a nappie and you can be sure that the baby hasn't read it yet." As might be expected, Lebowitz's contribution to the genre is not a run-of-the-mill tale. Her talking gnomes, Thundermoose and Don't-Peak-to-Public-Trust, are more labyrinthine than adorable—which puts them out at the league of such wackadoodle children's characters as Barney the Dinosaur. "Well, I'm not that cute, let's face it," says Lebowitz, 44. "I would say that that level of adorableness wouldn't come naturally to me."

Edited by JOE CHIDLEY





*B.C. native carvers make masks with the power to stare people down*



*Over the past 10 years, there has been a boom in mask making as an expressive art form, and international art buyers have rushed to acquire pieces by the stars of Northwest Coast carving*

*Wideman by Dick Jang: carved in honor of a close friend killed by a policeman's bullet*



# FACE AT AN EXHIBITION

BY BRIAN D. JOHNSON

**T**hey are carved from cedar, alder and silver birch. On view, the wood grain is left bare, circling jaws and cheekbones like lines on a contour map. Others are painted in vibrant colors. Lustrous yellow beaks. Lipstick-molt blue. Contrasting combinations of sea green and cobalt blue. Firewheels, lustrous with metallic curves. Shimmering, shagreened bark and eagle down serve as collars. A child's face is stenciled with lines made of copper strips. The masks are, at first glance, wildly decorative. But there is something else going on that has nothing to do with esthetics. It can be found in the eyes.

This is art that stares back at the viewer. In an age of interactive media, the Indian masks of British Columbia's Northwest Coast offer a profound perspective—awareness, as unfocused, that can be worn or mounted, animated as a dance or hung on a wall. There are private masks that remain shrouded in family secrets, and public masks that fetch thousands of dollars, on the international art market. Some are inspired by family stories of animals and spirits, and history that has been passed down through countless generations. Others are as contemporary as yesterday's news—Robert Dick, an artist from Klart Bay on Vancouver Island, carved his *Wideman* mask to honor a close friend killed by a policeman's bullet after running toward and helped to save the world.

Native masks are not just artifacts of a traditional way of life. Looking outward as well as inward, they reflect the changing face of native culture. Over the past 10 years, there has been a boom in mask making as an expressive, contemporary art form. Titled *Spirit Faces*, a new exhibit at Vancouver's Inuit Gallery offers the most extensive public showing of Northwest Coast masks since 1987. And when held on hour of its opening, 21 of the 24 catalogued pieces on display had been

■ *Moan from the Spirit Faces* by Gary Wynn; carved in honor of a close friend killed by a policeman's bullet

bought by local and international collectors at prices ranging from \$8,000 to \$15,000.

The show's Nov. 14 opening also marked the launch of a modest but impressive book titled *Spirit Faces: Contemporary Masks of the Northwest Coast*. Written by Gary Wynn, curator of the gallery's Northwest Coast collection, and published by Douglas & McIntyre, it contains photographs and descriptions of 75 masks by 23 of the top native carvers working in the region.

The book has sparked widespread interest among foreign distributors. "Northwest Coast masks have taken their place in the wider world of art and cultural art," says Wynn. "We bring a first-hand perspective to it. We take this art to the international art fair where it's going to sit and be seen as a contemporary art form." Traditionally, native masks were often destroyed after the dance ceremonies in which they were used. The idea of turning ritual objects into art market commodities suggests finishing on a very different order



But there remains a distinction between masks that are carved for the market and those that remain within the tribe. "Some people will say that masks, because of their history, should not be available in the marketplace, or treated as trophies," says Wynn. "But they're not taking into account that these collectors bring their own spiritual life



*Eagle Mask by Lynn Wilson; Raven Child by Joe David Jensen; powerful messages*



to them. As art objects, the masks are not something to be used in the past. They're so powerful that they take over. Every day you look at the mask, you bring something different to it, and it is going to talk back to you."

Some collectors, however, are like to collect. And if their masks all talked back at once, there would be a conspiracy. One of the customers who lined up for the *Spirit Faces* sale was Richard Chudak, a 58-year-old insurance broker who had flown in from Rochester, N.Y. For \$4,000, he picked up a half-eyed, grey-faced piece by Robert Jackson to add to the 32 masks and two taken poles in his living room. "I've got a cathedral ceiling," the collector explains. "But I'm running out of room." Mingling at the gallery's opening reception, Chudak was thrilled to see many of the artists there in person. He was hoping to buy a mask with a face coming out of the forehead, and one of the artists offered to carve it for him in commission in time for Christmas.

Despite the burgeoning commercial appeal of native masks, their history is not being forgotten, according to Wynn. "Some people argue that we're extracting something from the culture, but that's not the case," he says. "Artists who have had the opportunity to work in the market have brought back some wonderful innovations. And the superstitions of the art form all happen to be culturally sensitive in their communications."

The most famous of them, Pacific artist Robert Davidson, 48, is not represented in the *Spirit Faces* exhibit—he has taken a one-year sabbatical from carving. But a number of new names are emerging. With six



Clothes, from left, Campbell and her Moon Mask; Tellez with Salmon Transformation; Jackson's Portrait Mask; McNeill's *The Wind*: an eclectic range of styles, and a few female carvers



ART

Based in the midlife, *Bookends* was career. Rick Deck is one of the most prolific and generous careerists. Both his father and grandfather owned the *Amesville*. Deck and his sons on days when for pocket money. "I was 12," he recalls, "when a kiosk was put over my head by my grandfather," and he did this. Now 36, Deck cares for both commercial and commercial partners. "People always try to draw a line between them," says the artist, "but whether you care a piece for a chair or for the instrumental career, you're getting paid. It really doesn't make any difference. You do the best job you can." Still, the career has a duty to take part in the culture, he adds. "If you want to take, you're not looking. I want to be the one who's

His own office owns four sets of masks for a theatrical evening. Every time they are displayed is a chance: one set is destroyed and a new set is commissioned to replace it. "That way they are never forgotten," says Dick. "And they never end up on somebody's wall just to be admired. Their value is in the costume, not the actual material."

But even some muses that do end up in collectors' living rooms can carry powerful messages. Dad's Vietnam mask was inspired by a horrifying episode involving a close friend, Joe Pitt, a carver and future chief of the *Koonkskwa* values from paranoiac delusions when he was sent to General Hospital in Corvallis, B.C., for treatment who said there was nothing wrong with him although his wife heard him out in two ways.



in the garage of a stranger's house in Contreras R.C.—lying naked in a car after surrendering with a circle of burning gasoline. As the owner of the house approached him, Peters stabbed the man, fatally. Later, cornered by police officers, Peters stabbed a police dog and then fired into the weeds. There, brandishing his knife, he was shot in the head at close range by one of the officers.

Duck describes his Williams mask as "an expression of anger and hurt and frustration." Unlike most masks, which tend to be immaculately wrought, it is finger-painted in a raw, unclassical style. The carrier says he tried to capture "the confusion that was going through my friend's head—the darkness creeping up—and the stares reflecting on his face." Sold for \$4,000, the mask now belongs to John Wimmerman, a 34-year-old



plant manager at Vancouver's Fleetwood sausage factory "it is my first cook," he says. "I found the story intriguing, but that wasn't the reason I bought it. I liked the intensity, and the spirituality."

Most artists tell stories that are much older than the one behind Dickens' *White Heat*. They are passed down through families like precious heirlooms. And the details often remain secret. "Most artists will give a quick story to go with the music for the public," says Norman Tait, a 50-year-old Nyanja composer from the village of Kinshufu now living in Vancouver. "But the real story remains private. The very personal stories are hidden, so that someone else doesn't copy it." Adds Tait: "In the old days, some of the music was so powerful, if the poet/songster was young on the dance grounds, they were kept in the house, not before they were married. And when the ceremony is over they are thrown in the fire. We believe the fire is where the spirits of the lovers of the music."

are. These words are the keepers of the masks.<sup>1</sup>

Although Tid now caters for collectors, he has a few quails that have been used ceremonially. "Once they've been danced," he says, "I really can't sell them. Because I'd feel like I'd just sold a spirit to someone and that spirit won't be happy again. And so I lose a forever."

Tate's work at the Iowa Gallery includes two institutional surveys that



Despite his reputation for trickster, Tan did not inherit his vocation. Twenty-three years ago, he was earning his living as a registered mechanic. While waiting for work, he would sit by the phone and whittle "I whittled and whittled and whittled," he recalls, "and before long I was earning more money with my carving than with mechanics." Because there were no carvers in his family, Tan studied works of 19th-century Nagai's career. "You might say he was training me in his death. I studied I had a man like him around when I started, but all I could do was make his words."

Glenn Tilleo is another carver who has reclaimed his heritage by default. The 55-year-old Bella Glade native carved just fine while working as a logger, a Siberian and an amateur potter. But logging jobs became scarce, his father sold their lumber house, and his doctor ordered him to quit peeling bark. "So, I started to carve seriously at carving," says Tilleo. Now, after 15 years of making masks, he is an accomplished artist. His *Southern Transmutation* mask is one of the most costumed piece works in the *Spirit Fairs* collection. A large piece with four arms in the shape of fish, it has hinged components that open up to reveal a hidden face.

From Tom's transformationally cozy to the starkness of Jan Davis's succulent caress, from the sun-faded delicacy of Ken McNerly's *The Wind* to Stan Bevan's masculine rhythms and angles, the genre embraces an eclectic range of styles. And although most carvers are men, women are now beginning to make their mark: Dale Campbell, a Tahitian, flings from Prince Rupert, picked up a knife at 37 after getting bored with bookwork. She studied with veteran female carver Freda Deming. Now 40, Campbell has her own touch: In the open-mouthed, wide-eyed astonishment of her *Neke Mark*, she combines formal elegance with a subtle wit.

On a wet, misty, cool, monotonically colorful day. But when a dancer (patron) calls, the music is complete. For the opening of *Spill Beans*, a native dance troupe gave a spirited demonstration. The lead dancer, a slight figure in a black cloak, swooped around the floor in a graceful, sleek, *m* dress as this opened her a clear shell to reveal a brightly painted mask inside. Behind it was an 11-year-old boy named Jase Perreault. "We call him *chif*," said Bruce Clark afterwards, "because he's going to be a *chif*! He's got his carving, painting, dancing and singing. He's going to do it all." As the strains of the Northwest Coast curve and turn their name, the song progression is already preparing the next face-off. □

**FILMS**

## Having his baby

*Even in Hollywood, this one takes the cake*

**REVIEW**  
Directed by Peter Abelson

**A** mild Schwarzenegger gets most amusing when he knows in his gut he's about to lose. It's the only time he takes the risk. It's his concept links, a slightly simple formula for a feature-length action pic with blockbuster potential. Factor in Danny DeVito as Arnold's buddy and the eight guys he squares—Homo Disruptus means the mother of all Testosterone (The combination was vociferously trended in 1988's *Time*). Finally, on a wild-card move, pluck actress Linda Thompson from the teen passions of *Merchast* boyfriend (Roberto Di Matteo, *The Abominable Dr. Zed*) and give Schwarzenegger's love interest—a couple. That seems insane in proportion to the mass appeal of Schwarzenegger's formula, but it's just laughs. The kind of broadest, generic laughs.

Yet the movie is unashamedly different from the Casablanca-style director of *Thelma*, with Kristina, weighed in at slightly more than the sum of its castmates parts. Instead of creating a force that is as kind as it is firm, the film's makers have guided their story seems oddly credible. *Amis* (Schwartzengger) and Larry (de Wit) are two biotechnology scientists, concerned with a new drug called *Euphorbia* designed to prevent women's bodies from rejecting fetal tissue. After the unwavering care their funding and coach them from their lab, Larry steals a frozen egg from a bank brought in by the lab's new talent. *Chlorophyll* and persuades *Amis* to play around with

an artificial-gamete recipient. Once the drug's merits are proven, he is supposed to end his secret pregnancy after the first transfer. But Alex decides to keep the baby.

Amie takes a while to get into gear. Once it does, Schwarzenegger plays pregnancy as a good-natured drug act. It is amusing to see the Superman physique turn pear shaped, to watch Men's even manure with a hidden emotion, and to hear his complaints about sore nipples as female hormones surge through his system.

But these are just beige images. The movie gets truly funny only when Thompson gets a scene. Call it a charming blight, she collects the comedy with the kind of daffy drag, quackery wit she first deployed in *The Tall Guy*. Unintentionally, the focus is on the two male stars and whenever she is on-screen, things seem dull by comparison. Even the script snarls up when she is around, as the valettes (most barbs off Schwarzenegger's mouth)

Junior's vocal politics are caggy. As if it's contested the strong profile sentiments at one point, when a university official tries to commend *Alas* for medical science, he yells, "My body, my choice!" Retrospect, more wit, maintains a balance between soul satire and sweet sentiment. But as the end, without pushing too hard, Retrospect lets the full bare dream of childhood take over. And, with the incredible measure of a black-buster baby screaming for daylight, *Junior* turns not just fine.

BRIAN D. JOHNSON

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## BOOKS

# House-keeping on the Hill

THE GILDED GHETTO: WOMEN AND POLITICAL POWER IN CANADA  
By Sydney Sharpe  
(Waparc/Cancon, 272 pages, \$27)

During her decade-long career in the trenches of Ottawa politics, former B.C. Liberal MP Irena Campagnolo was admired for her aloof elegance and break resolve. It was Campagnolo who, as party president, had the nerve to tell Pierre Trudeau in 1984 that it was time for her to go. Even as the widely respected former minister for Business and Consumer Affairs in Trudeau's cabinet, the self-described "bitchy flower" appeared to be a self-assured woman who had it all. So much for that illusion. In *The Gilded Ghetto*, Campagnolo reveals that her "bitchy and women" career-

flagged political insecurities, and that she wore spike heels "so I could light eye to eye with men"—the bigger the buckle, the higher the heel. Like other women before her, she viewed Parliament as a hostile men's club, disdained of the women who attempted to invade it. "It wasn't made for us," says

**Despite many gains, women in Parliament face discrimination**

Campagnolo, "and in many ways it still isn't." Since the doors to Parliament were prised open to women in 1915, when they were the

right to be elected, most of the 120 females (compared with 3,654 men) sent by voters to Ottawa have accumulated more than enough reasons to bitterly complain. In 1925, Agnes McPhail, Canada's first female MP, was hauled outside the House of Commons by a guard who bellowed, "You can't go in there, Miss." Forty-seven years later, the late Judy LaMarsh, brilliant and bombastic, scathingly observed that in politics "the little dirty details of life" were left to women so that men could "accomplish the big thing jobs unimpeded."

With a record 55 women in the present 255-seat Parliament, the numbers have improved. But according to Sharpe—read to a startling number of the contemporary female politicians who shared their views with the author—not much has changed. "Deeply rooted in the Canadian psyche," writes Sharpe, "is the contrary notion that women should stick to the private sphere of home and family while men do the public work."

There are those who undoubtedly will say, enough already. In fact, Sharpe admits with surprising candor in the book's footnotes that a testy Ellen Fairclough—the Hamilton West Tory MP from 1950 to 1960 and, at age 88, the oldest of Canadian female politicians—wrote an extended interview because, Fairclough says, "everybody's writing a book about women in politics," in its grim march to an inevitable conclusion, *The Gilded Ghetto* at times descends into the uncomfortable white of a self-help group session, invoking the very

victim syndrome that many feminists deplore—but still allow—us to use as an excuse for the lack of action by both male and female politicians. In bleeding moments, Sharpe seems all too aware of this trap. "One problem," she notes, "is that no Canadian woman has yet appeared with the charisma to set a style, a way of leading, that the women can accept and that other female politicians can absorb and use."

Naturally, Sharpe's study includes the rise and glamorous downfall of Kim Campbell—the quintessential symbol of the Canadian feminist movement's protest politics and triumph and, at the same time, its most crushing embarrassment. Sharpe meticulously examines her analysis of Campbell's disastrous stint as the country's first female prime minister in one chapter, aptly titled "Unleashed Spirit." History has yet to measure the effect of Campbell on the advancement of women in the province of power. There is striking evidence that the former minister of justice and defence was done wrong by the media and her Tory colleagues alike. But Sharpe clearly overstates her case. "Kim Campbell," she writes, "caught Canadians with their stereotypes exposed as vividly

Campagnolo: It wasn't made for us, and in many ways it still isn't."



to reexamine the procedure. What makes *The Gilded Ghetto* stand out amid the growing bookshelves of so-called women's studies is its cast of strong supporting characters. One is Agnes McPhail, who is strapping down in Nova Scotia's 100th birthday. Agnola is one of Canada's earliest politicians and certainly an ardent advocate of women's rights. McPhail keeps her frustration with the male-dominated blood sport with a few self-acknowledged that "today is one of the few areas where women get equal pay." Agnola MP Deborah Grey, one of seven women and the only woman of the last Parliament in the 1980s. Grey's career, even women to feel honor in the public task of fighting sexism. Seated on a plane next to a man who initially refused to believe she was an MP, Grey responded, "No, I am the MP. But I do have a secretary and his name is Brian." The sad fact is that, 75 years after the suffrage, the vote is still at the expense of more than half the Canadian population.

E KAYE PULTON

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## Crown of thorns

**H**e loved her; he loved her not. Like so many pearls from a flower, facts have been plucked and opinions scattered to the wind in the debate over whether Prince Charles truly loved Diana Spencer when they wed in 1981. And did he love her truly? Deeply? (That there was a touch of madness to their relationship now seems beyond question.)

Jonathan Dimbleby unleashed a speculative frenzy when the first excerpts from *The Prince of Wales* (Dimbleby, \$22.95), his biography of Charles, hit newsstands this fall. According to Dimbleby, the bridegroom in the hairy tale lives much of the century never actually uttered the famous "I do" at his wedding. The marriage was a calculated charade because—the prince was simply recruited to doing the right thing for his country by ending his premiership on a rheumatism concert. His friends were shocked at the union. Diana giggled when he proposed. But, to expiate what Charles saw when he gazed into the blue eyes of his wife, Queen Diana, he had to marry her. The wedding was so marred by the role of wife and mother according to the special needs of the aristocrat.

Everyone knows what came next: the most photographed marital breakdown in history. Given the wear of the maze and the fascination with the secrets of celebrities, it was hardly surprising that reaction to the bignio, play focused on a suggestion that Charles

ably, Drans, Charles in 1957 (above),

may never even have loved her in the first place. But the biographer was not amused. He had set out to write a serious book on the future monarch, and now the British tabloids were (as would befitting a scene on the stage)

They were transposing the biographer's interpretation into the mouth of his subject. "Charles: I've never loved Darn," blazed a typical tabloid headline.

So, one month after its release, and with the book usually reread by any British best-selling writer, *Drishley* is fighting back. "I was, at one point, not sure I believed that the tabloids would not mismanage the truth," he said last week in an interview with *Mail* magazine. "But I felt I had gotten inside an institution that plays a fundamental part in the lives of most Brits. That's not the perspective I was coming from, and that is what I wanted people to notice." Drishley was appalled that the *Spectator* anorak was lamping his work in with the rest of the trashy royal confessions. "People who know me say that I am serious to the point of writing overcoats to sleep," he attests.

He should not have worried the biography is like its subject, serious, precise, exhaustive and at times, exhausting. It has footnotes.

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Dunkley, a journalist of great gusto who is small enough for action and to twist history in the making, is sympathetic to senior meanings in the piece.

The biography is the product of two years of following the prince in editorial offices, also viewing Charles and his entourage, and meticulously sifting through his letters and diaries. No merely academic would be authorized to own a copy. In tracing the prince's life, Dunkley has crafted a study of the social revolution taking place within the British monarchy as it struggles to survive the millennium. More of a historical document than a cozy read. The Prince of Wales gives extraordinary attention to detail.

And that will be the problem for some readers. Not everyone will care for so much detail about a man who—outside of his highly combustible marriage—has not led an especially exciting life. Popular fascination with Charles will always rest on whether insight can be gleaned about life inside The Marriage. Dunkley seems almost embarrassed by the subject. "Had there not been a separation, the marriage would have taken up just the ninth of the book," he says (though not foretelling apart just a crack. But the biography could not ignore the fact that the couple had split, and that the last two years have seen an enormous battle between them. Backed by holes from their assorted courtiers and hangers-on, the Charles and Diana show crashed into a grotesque public splitting match).

For anyone there is plenty of detail on this subject. So Dunkley doesn't let usiduous and business, his obsession with whether Charles and Camilla Parker Bowles were having an affair, and her search for the solution through astrology and other fringe practices are well chronicled. Dunkley notes that "the marriage was fundamentally flawed by incompatibility at many levels," but, like Charles, he is careful not to overly criticize Diana, who did not co-operate well with biographers.

For the world from the prince's point of view, readers can turn to *Diana: Her New Life* (Doubleday, \$29.95), by Andrew Morton. Widely regarded as a candidate for Diana's agonies, Morton first exposed the extent of the Prince's marital problems in his 1992 book, *Diana: Her True Story*. The book was regarded as the most revealing insider account of its time. It was also immediately profitable for its author, so the arrival of Part 2 was so predictable as another *Windy* movie. This sequel has questionable value. For one thing, Diana was supposedly "retired" for half of the period covered by the book. Just 101 pages as crisp as old bag type, it updates the chronic life inside the separation. It has more color pictures.



Morton is chronicling Diana's crankiness.

*"The marriage was fundamentally flawed by incompatibility at many levels"*

Had this royal schism occurred a few centuries ago, the various parties would have resorted to their country courts, sword fights, and returned to settle scores in a battlefield. Now their empty lawsuits and leak duty little secrets to the media. Like Charles and Diana, the British media have divided into rival camps. Morton accuses Cornel Black's establishment-oriented Daily Telegraph of being pro-prince. "If Charles committed mass murder, the public school boys at the Telegraph would say, 'Well, done, sir,'" argues Morton. He also claims that Dunkley was acting as an emissary for the prince when he lunched with Diana earlier this year, and that the prince's biographer agreed to let grant Charles a dinner. Dunkley says the suggestion to "hushhush" is.

Coming from a younger generation than her husband, Diana is much better suited than Charles for marital warfare. She delivers her message in media-friendly bluntness. Her book is short, so long. The television documentary on the prince that accompanied the Dunkley book lasted three hours—a legend once visited to Charles, who takes forever to make a point. But the snappy

one-hour television presentation for Martin's hand. (These books were ground for shorter attention spans in its breathless, life-size-enters-MTV style.)

Morton's book is an attempt at a sympathetic portrait, but he cannot hide the crazy woman within. Diana emerges as alternately brittle and vindictive—and more than a bit flighty. This is a woman who once when Dora Moore and Woody Hamilton were married at the end of the 19th century would have been called *Indiscreet* and who believes that in a previous incarnation she was a nun. Her life is governed by a battery of trust-card readers, eulogists, astrologers, and seances. She undergoes one of her coldest intrigues—a water treatment to deal with her hair—on her terms—in order to, as she puts it, "let the spirit out." And the prince shows signs of paranoia, believing the Royal Family is conspiring against her (although her decision to overy her Kensington Palace house for long now seems who gave the press leaks about her absence to his home). Only recently did she drop her conviction that MIA, Britain's security service, was responsible for the motorcycle death of her former bodyguard, Inspector Barry Munnick. He had grown so close to her, she believed, something that Charles supposedly resented.

Most amazingly, Diana has a great capacity to feel sorry for herself—just like the sappy Charles. "They are both selfish people," says Morton. "Like all members of the Royal Family, they are prepared to blame a courtier, a servant or a friend for their troubles." The native son he means. As Morton points out, "he was convinced that for every point, she goes down in the opinion polls, thousands of people [screaming] could be shaved off the streets [disorder] without him." Her behavior stoked with manipulation, there is not a temper waiting, not a candidate better without an eye for how it affects her public standing vis-à-vis the prince.

All of this leaves a bad taste. Charles's actions may be driven by duty, but both he and Diana seem far too self-absorbed. The books—Dunkley's for the serious crowd, Morton's for *People* magazine readers—are ultimately just an extension of their cold war. This privileged pair, with their incessant sipping and their competition for glory, are disrupting the monarchy's underbelly. And their selfish myopia has made them willing, taking Britain for about now. Oh, for Oliver Cromwell.

BRUCE WALLACE in London

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# His star also rises

Toronto may have pushed Hemingway to fiction

## HEMINGWAY: THE TORONTO YEARS

By William Sharrett  
Lodovico Canada, 260 pages, \$25.95

Ernest Hemingway lived his life strenuously, preferring the diversion of action to otherwise introspection. The task of scrutinizing the writer Hemingway fell to legions of scholars, who pored over every facet of his existence: from his birth and childhood in Oak Park, Ill., to his suicide in Ketchikan, Alaska, in 1961. One makes William Sharrett's *Hemingway: The Toronto Years* surprising. The Toronto period covers Hemingway's four years in a small report on the Toronto Star during the period with new significance, depth and fresh insight. While acknowledging the considerable work of dozens of Hemingway scholars who preceded him, Sharrett also found a treasure of previously neglected Hemingway journalism—50 pieces in total.

The author's attention for Hemingway is apparent throughout the text, but it is unclouded by sentimentality. According to Sharrett, Hemingway was a combination of macho bluster, towering intellect, intense competitiveness and insatiable dedication to his craft. He was also a drunk, a cheat and a voracious liar. Sharrett's account offers an unprecedented view of both Hemingway's selfishness and his sensitivity. Nor does Sharrett—former Toronto Star reporter himself—shut us detailing the petty cruelty of some of Hemingway's editors at the *Star*'s city desk, as well as the encouragement he got from more sympathetic reporters at the *Star Weekly* staff. Hemingway's most bitter battles were fought with



Hemingway: *Inner style*

*Star* city editor Harry Hartsman. Yet in a strange, backhanded way, Hartsman is responsible for Hemingway's leap of faith to full-time fiction writing. The book chronicles how Hartsman made Hemingway so frustrated and furious that the relative inactivity of writing novels for a long looked preferable to staying on at the *Star*.

Hemingway often confessed that younger would-be novelists that themselves unskilled discipline and based one's loyalty with the language, but he also insisted that any re-

porter with novelist aspirations had to quit journalism—with its reliance on the limited techniques of reportage—is success as a fiction writer creating imagined worlds. Ironically, it was precisely Hemingway's journalism that allowed him to develop his distinctive style.

One of the more intriguing passages details Hemingway's experiments with his prose. He called the "breezy rhythm of his prose 'cabaret'" after the blunt style he'd learned compressing information into terse war reports.

The book's last third comprises periodically overlooked Hemingway material, found in university library collections at Harvard and Princeton and at the Toronto *Star*. There are straightforward accounts of everything from dying oak trees to a new kind of aesthetic perfected by a Toronto warzone in 1930. Some show Hemingway's technique in embryonic form. Others offer a view of a reporter cranking out what he obviously considered pointless exercises to satisfy the demands of that day's newspaper. And there are some fascinating insights about his co-workers. Sharrett's book—with occasional ranging from 250-word day assignments to unapologetic prose musings—of form a fuller portrait than most Hemingway biographies. Although he is identified as a *Wrecking Hemingway* aficionado, Sharrett is not a mere acolyte. He returns a distance from and skepticism about his subject, which keeps his work thoughtful and lively.

The Toronto of the early 1930s is very much a character in the account, too. For his dogmatism and Protestant repression are strongly evoked. In a letter to poet Ezra Pound, Hemingway complains about the city's antiquated liquor laws and its narrow-mindedness. "[Hemingway] couldn't be any worse," he writes. "You can imagine it." It was this bottom-dweller stiffness that finally helped drive Hemingway from the city for good at the beginning of 1934.

Sharrett's book stands as both a crucial addition to the already considerable body of Hemingway scholarship and a vital, electrifying reminder in its own right—a tough challenge, delightfully accomplished.

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# Laying down the law

BY ALLAN FOTHERINGHAM

Deck the Butcher The first thing we do, let's kill all the lawyers.

—Henry 10, Part II

The poor babies. Always being picked upon. Why? Because they're so 1500. Because (in the future) everything that the legal eagles would favour be in trouble with their public relations. Poor babies. Always misunderstood.

What's the difference between a shark on the highway and a lawyer? Bad teeth.

The Canadian Bar Association's Ontario branch, as you may have heard, is going to do something about this dreadful insect, these disgusting jokes. They plan to monitor the way they are portrayed in newspapers and magazines and books and on radio and on television. They are going to mount an organized response to "the media's unfair assault on our collective image." Poor babies.

Question: What do you call 200 Toronto lawyers at the bottom of Lake Ontario? Answer: A ton.

This vigorous effort to repair the image of this underdeveloped group is sure to generate immense public sympathy. Moreover, I agree with my many lawyer friends and they agree with the most powerful anti-journalists being laid, underdeveloped, underfunded and down-right rotten—all true—I reply that the last time I checked there were more lawyers in jail than journalists.

I would suggest, always trying to help out the poor babies, that they initiate their own new TV campaign by publishing a list, prominently by province, of how many people with a law degree are in jail. Let's be frank, boys.

Not just those thrown in the skunker, as we read with boring regularity month by month, but borrowing widows' trust funds and forgetting to put them back in the safety deposit box. Not just those connected to fraud and embezzlement.

We're talking here of every single holder of a law degree who has never practiced law but tried to flourish on the Vancouver Stock Ex-



change by selling massive gaudy mansions or as silver canisters or who put into real estate and got greedy, or who made a million selling passports to eager foreign tourist immigrants. All of them, guys. Please.

Passengers in the cruise ship watched in horror as a hairy lawyer fell overboard into shark-infested waters. To their amazement, the man'sosha sharks instead of chewing him down raised him on their mouths and gently laid him onto a lowered lifeboat. "Just provide usual courtesy," he explained as he swam back on deck.

One [law] firm, president of the lawyer's association, explains: "If there's greater respect for lawyers, there will be greater respect for the justice system. Respect for the practitioners of the justice system—lawyers and judges—goes hand in hand with accepting what the justice system does certain things."

One of the curious things the "justice sys-

tem" does is allow Mr. Elton to charge \$295 an hour for his services from his 14th floor of 10 in downtown Toronto.

He says lawyers should be seen as "caring, reasonable, down-to-earth people, the majority of them family-oriented." Oh, yes. I guess that would be the description of the clutch of celebrity lawyers who are presently presenting the new act of the U.S. Senate trial, which, all the experts estimate, will leave the midwestern brick and his child drea deprived of private schools once it he avoids the crewbar hotel.

Volunteered to testify twice. Once when he lost a limb out. And once when he was a 1-billionaire. He and Willy could commiserate.

The idea of lawyers setting up a monitoring program to police an essay reviews of their performance (Big Brother is not only biding you, he's now watching your infomaniac. Next?

Accumulating evidence keeping a check on their reputation? Used-car lots: what's about what people think about them?

Lawyers have a bad reputation because they have a bad reputation. They smirk at you and think about that a bit. Nurses don't have bad reputations. Neither do business. The lawyers, the masters of talk and politics, might think about that, too.

You've heard perhaps that scientists are now using lawyers, rather than rats, in laboratory experiments. There are three reasons for this:

1. There are now more lawyers in the world than there are rats.

2. There is no chance you will ever become food of a lawyer.

3. There are some things rats won't do.

I happen to be an expert on lawyers because, in my life, I make my public living. I have had to speed so much faster with them. I know more about life's law than most lawyers in Canada, mainly because it is my job to see how close I can get to cracking it.

They are lately, unimpaired guardians of our democracy, as we know. Like the clever lads, each succeeding the other, supposedly defending Paul Bernardo in the Ontario scandal that so far has cost the taxpayer some \$600,000 in legal and fees with no end in sight.

Poor innocent Mr. Elton, setting up his monitoring system, trying to track every alluding article on his noble craft, transcribing tapes of each harmful broadcast, trying to trace every statement who has not been created or needed a description of his breed.

He might be sure his breath. And his money. Better still, he might go back and read Henry 10.

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